There is now Publiſhed Propoſals for Printing a Large Volume of the Diſcourſes of this Learned and Judicious AUTHOR,

UPON *Original Sin, Repentance, Faith, the New Creature, Earthly-mindedneſs, Hearing the Word, Juſtification by the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt, Life of Faith, Faith in Prayer, Chriſts Interceſſion, Taking up the Croſs, Mans Inſufficiency to do any thing of himſelf,* &c.

The Undertakers, Tho. Parkhurſt, Jonathan Robinſon, *and* Thomas Cockerill, *make theſe following Propoſals.*

I. That the Book ſhall contain Two Hundred and Fifty Sheets, for Paper and Print the ſame with the Propoſals.

II. The Subſcribers to pay Twenty Shillings *per* Book, *viz.* Ten Shillings in hand, and Ten Shillings at the delivery of a Perfect Book in Quires.

III. For the Encouragement of thoſe that will promote Subſcriptions (for ſo Excellent a Work) for every Six Books, they ſhall have a Seventh, *Gratis.*

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A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

Liturgies.

By the Late *Learned* and *Judicious* Divine,

Mr. *DAVID CLARKSON.*

Πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τεχνασμάτων γεγονότες πατέρες. οἱ τὰ αἰώνια ὄρνα τῆς ἐνθέσμων πατέρων μετάραι φιλονεικήσαντες, ἐκ ἠρκέθησαν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκγόνοις, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῆς πάλαι πολεμίων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπλωθείσης δυσγενῆ κακῶς ἀποκλήσαντες, ὡς δίγνωτα καὶ τέλεον τοκον [δόγματων] μεβάλλονται Maxim. in Dionys. tom. 2. p. 206.

Καταπίνουσι τοῖς ἐντυξομένοις ἐπαινῶν. ἀνὰ φιλονεικίας συνιδεῖν καὶ εἰ μὴν ὀρθῶς εἴρηται τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι Εἰ δὲ μὴ τῷ γεγραφότι συγγνώμην νέμομεν. τῷ μὴ ἀποτυναμβόῳ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐντυξομένοις ὑπερβάλλοντι τὸν ἔπαινον Sic concludit. ep. 112. Isidor. l. 4.

Δεῦρο δὴ δεῖν τὴν ἰσοτίμιας βαδίζων ἀνεμέσητον τὸν ἀρχαιογονίαν αὐτῆς. ἐ γὰ νεώτερον τὸ ἐφάρημα. Πατέρων ὄζει τὸ χαμηλὸν. πᾶν τὸ ἀρχαιότητι διαφέρον, αἰδέσιμον. Basil de Jejun. hom. 1. p. 140.

Μάθωμεν πότε ἔναι Χειστιανὸς εἰ εὔκολος ἐ ἴσμεν. ὅπερ ὄζει εὔκολον καὶ σφόδρα ῥάδιον, τὶ τῆς ἄλλων εἰσόμεθα μαθόντες εὐκόλως ὡς Χειστιανοί. Chrysost. in 1 Tim. hom. 6. p. 279.

LONDON, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapside*. *Jonathan Robinson* at the *Golden Lyon* in St. *Pauls Church-yard*, and *Tho. Cockeril* at the *Three Legs* in the *Poultry*. 1689.

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning

LITURGIES.

THE Reputation of preſcribed Liturgies depends on their ſuppoſed Antiquity; this is their great, their beſt ſupport. They pretend not to Scripture, nor will their Advocates maintain, that the Apoſtles either uſed ſuch, or left any order for the compoſing and preſcribing of them.

And it will ſeem ſtrange to thoſe that reverence Antiquity, that good Reaſon ſhould be found for them; if the Antients for four or five Ages could ſee none, in ſuch circumſtances as might render it equally viſible to them and us.

If they had ſeen it, it would appear in their practice, there eſpecially where the Reaſon is thought to be moſt cogent, *viz.* in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. It is preſumed, (*a*) that there firſt

(*a*) The Antient Churches, from the very firſt Century, did uſe ſuch publick wholeſome forms of ſound words, in their Sacramental Celebrations eſpecially, and afterwards in other Holy Adminiſtrations or publick Duties, as made up their ſolemn, devout and publick Liturgies. *D. G. Conſideration touching Liturgies*, p. 8.

of all, there eſpecially, forms of Prayer were (and are to be) preſcribed; and ſo it will be granted, that if Antiquity be not for them there, it owns them no where.

By preſcribed Forms are meant *ſuch as are impoſed upon the Adminiſtrator, ſo as thoſe muſt be uſed, and no other, nor otherwiſe, without adding, detracting, or tranſpoſing.* The Favourers of ſuch Forms ſuppoſe, they have been the conſtant uſage of the Church, every where, ever ſince extraordinary gifts ceaſed. Their Oppoſites judge this hath been rather taken for granted, then proved; and ſuſpect they are ὑπὸ συνηθείας πεφκαλλημμένοι; and that this opinion had not got entertainment, but upon a preſumption, that things were ſo of old, becauſe they are ſo now; (*b*) and that the miſtake had not ſo long prevailed, if it had been ſooner examined.

It is not denyed, but there were ſome Forms of Prayer of old, *viz.* arbitrary and particular, ſuch as this or that Perſon compoſed himſelf, or made choice of compoſed by others, for his uſe in publick. There is an intimation of this later ſort, *Can.* 23. *Con. Carthag.* 3. held in the concluſion of the fourth Age; and it is the firſt that I meet with. But common Forms (though arbitrary) *viz.* ſuch as many Churches made uſe of in the ſame words, I cannot diſcover till many years after; unleſs the Lords Prayer be made an inſtance hereof (*c*). This in-

(*b*) Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων τὰς ψήφους ἐκφέρουσιν. Iſid. Peluſ. l. 25. ep. 18.

Τοῖς γὰρ ἐν ἔθεσι, καὶ ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ κεκτημένοις τῶν πεφυμάτων τὸ κεκτῆσθαι σαφὲς δεῖ τὸ ἀληθές. Iſid. l. 3. ep. 191.

(*c*) Ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι μετὰ τὰς θαυμασίους ἀδῖνας τὰς ἐν τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι δίκαιον ἂν εἶεν τὸ πάτερ ἡμῶν λέγειν ὑῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι γνησιότητα, &c. Iſidor. Peluſ. l. 4. ep. 24.

deed

deed was uſed antiently, but far otherwiſe then of late, not more then once at one Aſſembly, not in Prayers before or after Sermon, not at all in the Catechumens office, (*d*) no where in their ordinary Service; but ἐν καιρῷ τῆς πηγῆς (in 2 *Cor. hom.* 3.) as *Chryſoſtom* calls the Euchariſtical Office; and there commonly in the concluſion of the Prayer for the bleſſing of the Elements.

But though they uſed the words of it there, yet not out of any apprehenſion, that Chriſt did injoin them there to uſe it. *Auguſtine* declares it plainly (*e*), that Chriſt in the delivery of thoſe Petitions, did not teach his Diſciples what words they ſhould uſe in Prayer, but what things they ſhould pray

(*d*) "Οτι γὰρ πιστοῖς ἄντη ἡ προσευχὴ προσήκει. καὶ ὁι νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀμύητον ἂν ἦν δύναιτο πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν θεόν. *Chryſoſt.* in *Matth. hom.* 18. *f.* 139. and *Hom.* 2. in 2 *Cor. p.* 553. Amongſt other things there recited, which the Catechumens were not partakers of, this is one. ἐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην κεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν. Hence when he is to ſpeak of the Lords Prayer, he uſes the ordinary form of concealment, whereby the Antients denote what was peculiar to the *fidelis*, ἴστε δὲ οἱ πιστοὶ, in 1 *Tim. Hom.* 5. *p.* 273. and ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι. in *Gen. hom.* 28. *p.* 214, and that the Baptized were admitted to ſay it preſently after Baptiſm, in *Coloſſ. hom.* 5. *p.* 122.

Hanc orationem baptizati orant. Auguſt. epiſt. 54.

Vid. Albaſpin. *obſerv. li.* 1. *c.* 9. and in him *Cyprian, Cyril, Ambroſe.*

Quam totam Petitionem ſive omnis eccleſia dominica oratione concludit. Aug. ep. 59.

(*e*) Aug. *Non te ergo movet Dominus ſummus Magiſter, cum orare docuit Diſcipulos, verba quædam docuit, in quo nihil aliud videtur feciſſe, quam docuiſſe quomodo in orando loqui oporteret?* Ad. *Nihil me omnino illud movet, non enim verba, ſed res ipſas eos verbis docuit, quibus & ſeipſi commoniſcerent, a quo quid eſſet orandum, cum in penetralibus, ut dictum eſt mentis, orarent.* Aug. *Rette intelligis.* Lib. de Magiſtro. cap. 1. p. 172, tom. 1. edit. Lugdun.

To the ſame purpoſe *Beda* in *Math.* 6.

And of late Writers, ſome of the moſt eminent, *Voluit præſcribere filius Dei quibus verbis utendum ſit, ut ab ea quam dictavit formula deflectere non liceat*, Calvin in *Math.* 6. 9. So *Muſculus.*

Maldonat. *ſic*] *Non his neceſſario verbis; ſed hac aut ſimili ſententia— Nam non Apoſtolos orando his ipſis verbis uſos fuiſſe legimus; aliis legimus* Act. 24. *Neque voluit Chriſtus, ut quotieſcunq; oramus, iſta omnia quæ hac oratione continentur peteremus; ſed ut omnia, aut aliqua, aut nihil certe his contrarium peterem*, in Matth. 6. 9.

Cornel. *A Lapide.*

Grotius *in* Matth. 6. 9. ὅτως] *In hunc ſenſum. Non enim præcipit Chriſtus verba recitari, quod non legimus Apoſtolos feciſſe (quamquam id quoque fieri cum fructu poteſt) ſed materiam precum hinc promere, in* Luc. 11. *docet nos compendium rerum orandarum, neque enim eo tempore ſyllabis adſtringebantur.*

Caſaubon, *exercit.* 235. *Chriſtus vero non de prædicatione Dei laudum agit; ſed, ut rectè monet Auguſtinus, de modo concipiendi preces privatas.*

Mr. *Mede* conceives that the Diſciples underſtood not that Chriſt in *Matthew* intended it for a Form of Prayer unto them, but for a Pattern and Example only, *&c. p.* 5.

And ſure they could leſs underſtand, by that in *Luke* 4. that Chriſt intended they ſhould uſe the ſame words (as in a ſet Form) ſince the ſame words are not there uſed.

Hence *Janſenius* inferrs, that Chriſt would not have any ſo careful of the words, as of the things to be prayed for; *itaq; ut diſceramus in oratione, non tam de verbis, quam de rebus eſſe anxii, ac de Spiritu orationis, diverſis verbis orationem tradidit, in* Luc. 11.

for; and underſtands it to be a direction for ſecret and mental Prayer, where no words are to be uſed. The coherence in *Matth.* 6. led him to explain it of ſuch Praying, as Chriſt is ſpeaking of *ver.* 6. which he took to be mental, and none deny to be ſecret.

It is granted alſo, that divers Churches had a certain order, wherein they agreed to adminiſter the ſeveral parts of Worſhip, and particularly the ſeverals in the Sacraments; ſo as each had its known and

and fixed place. An order there is viſible in *Chryſoſtom*, in 2 *Cor. hom.* 18. *p.* 647. and in *Auguſtine* to *Paulinus*, *epiſt.* 59. *quæſt.* 5. *p.* 340, 341. This was ſetled in ſome Churches by Cuſtom; and in ſome there was in time a Rule for it, ſuch is that, *Can.* 19. *Syn. Laodicen.* whoſe Title in the Latin Copies is, *de ordine orationum Catechumenorum atque fidelium.* And in the *Weſt*, the 27 Canon of the Synod of *Pau*, in the beginning of the ſixth Age. And 'tis provided for in general terms by the Council of *Vens Can.* in the latter end of the fifth Age.

Beſides ſuch direction as is in thoſe Canons, other written Rubricks were not needful. For the actual diſpoſing of the ſeverals in their proper place, the ὠρολόγιον ſerved them, of which *Can.* 22. and 23. *Conc. Laodic.* (*f*) This managed by a Deacon, acquainted with the uſages of the Church where he miniſtred, was ſufficient, without other Rubrick for that purpoſe, ſuppoſing it anſwered that deſcription of its antient uſe, which we have in *Balſamo.*

There was alſo ſome kind of Uniformity in their Sacramental Prayers; that is, a general agreement to pray for the ſame things, though not in the ſame words. They might have ſaid thereof, *quamlibet alia verba dicamus, nihil aliud dicimus.* This appeared eſpecially in the general Prayer before the Euchariſt. Therein for whom, and for what they prayed, very many of the Antients give ſome account. Thereby it is manifeſt, that they prayed for the ſame perſons, (for all of all ſorts) and for

(*f*) Διάκονοι δηλάσιν εἴδωσιν διὰ τῆς ὡρολογίου τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀμβῶνι διακόνοις, τὰ ὀφειλόμενα γίνεσθαι ἐκφωνήσεως. ἤγουν τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἐκτενῶν, τῶν αἰτήσεων τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. in Con. Laod. Can. in Cod. 126.

the ſame things, with reſpect to the various conditions of thoſe ſeveral ſorts of perſons; and this in variety of expreſſions. So that herein was exemplified that of *Auguſtine*, *Liberum eſt aliis atque aliis verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere*, *Epiſt.* 121. And this is the Uniformity in Prayer which *Cæleſtine* urgeth againſt the *Pelagians*; *Epiſt. pro Proſper. & Hilar. c.* 11. All Churches through the World agreeing to pray for thoſe perſons, and thoſe things, which were inconſiſtent with their Tenets. And that mode of Praying, which as the Author of the Books, *de vocatione Gentium*, (*g*) ſays, the Lord, by the Apoſtle, having preſcribed, the devotion of all ſorts did *concorditer* obſerve.

Such particular and voluntary Forms, ſuch an order in Adminiſtring, ſuch an uniformity in Praying, is not in queſtion; nor am I concerned in cõmon Forms if arbitrary, though ſetled by cuſtom. But this is it which is denyed, that in the antient Church, for many Ages after Chriſt, ſuch Liturgies, or Forms of Prayer, were commonly impoſed on thoſe who adminiſtred the Sacraments, as are before deſcribed.

(*g*) *Præcipit itaque Apoſtolus, imo per Apoſtolum Dominus fieri obſecrationes, &c. pro omnibus hominibus, pro Regibus, &c. quam legem ſupplicationis ita omnium Sacerdotum, & omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi ſit, in qua hujuſmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis Chriſtianis. Supplicat ergo ubique Eccleſia Deo, non ſolum pro Sanctis, & in Chriſto jam regeneratis; ſed etiam, pro omnibus infidelibus & inimicis crucis Chriſti, pro omnibus Idolorum cultoribus; pro omnibus, qui Chriſtum in membris ipſius proſequuntur; pro Judæis—— pro Hæreticis & Schiſmaticis—— Quid autem pro iſtis petit, niſi ut, relictis erroribus ſuis, convertantur ad Deum, accipiant fidem, accipiant charitatem, & de ignorantiæ tenebris liberati, in agnitionem veniant veritatis.* De voc. Gent. lib. 1. cap. 12.

Of

Or that in the antient Church, while its condition was tolerable, or its practice imitable, the common and ordinary way of adminiſtring the Sacraments, was by ſuch preſcribed Liturgies and Forms of Prayer, as are before deſcribed; wherein the Adminiſtrators had no liberty left to change words or order, to abridge or inlarge, or otherwiſe vary from the impoſed Models.

If there had been ſuch Liturgies antiently, as are contended for, and are now in uſe; Prayers would have been read then, as they are now. But ἀναγνώσκειν ἐυχὰς, or *preces legere*, or *de ſcripto recitare*, or any Forms of Speech equivalent, are Phraſes unknown, and not to be found, ſo far as I can yet diſcover in any Writers of the four or five firſt Ages at leaſt; and therefore the thing was in all probability not known, nor practiſed in thoſe times.

We meet not only with the Reading of Pſalms, *Theod. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *p.* 63. Reading of Leſſons; but Reading of the Narratives of the Martyrs Sufferings. (*b*) *Paſſiones Martyrum*, Con. 3. Carth. Can. 47. Carranz. p. 116. *liceat itaque legi paſſiones Martyrum, cum anniverſarii dies eorum celebrantur, ut in Cod.* Can. 46. Reading of Epiſtles from ſome Eminent Perſons or Churches; as *Dionyſius Corinth.* ſays *Clemens* Epiſtle had been Read, as it was wont to be in their Lords days Aſſemblies, *Euſeb. l.* And *Athanaſius* wills thoſe of *Antioch* to read the Epiſtle ſent from the Synod at *Alexandria*, ἵνα καὶ εἰδῆτε συναίνῳς ἀναγνωτε ταῦτα, *ad Antioch. p.* 451. to 1.

(*b*) Τὰ ὑπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγεγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Juſt. M. Apol. 2. Περὶ τῶ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἀναγίνεσθαι μετ' ἄλλων γράφων ἀναγινώσκειν. Con. Laod. Can. 17.

And *Cornelius* was wont to read *Cyprians* Epiſtles to the Church at *Rome*, *Cyp. p.* 12. Reading of the Diptyches, ἀπὸ ἱερῶν πτυχῶν ἀνάγνωσις, *Dionyſ. eccl. Hiſt. c.* 7. μόνον ἐλέχθησαν αἱ προσηγορίαι. *Heyl. antid.* 342.

In a word, of the reading of every thing that was wont to be read; but of the reading of Prayers, not a ſyllable. We may as ſoon find a ſaying of Maſs, as reading of Prayers. None had then the opportunity till ſince it has been the happyneſs of many to merit the commendation which *Pliny* gave of his Servant *Zoſimus*, *ep.* 19. 15.

If their Prayers had been written, and they confined preciſely to the words and ſyllables of the Writing, as in preſcribed Forms, this would have obliged them to have had the Writing before them, and to have read the Prayers out of it, to prevent varying from the preſcribed Model, ſince there had been as much neceſſity to read then, as there is now.

Beſides, Reading and Praying are ſtill repreſented as diſtinct things, and ſuch as were not then coincident. The Deacon, when he called to Reading, was ſaid, κηρύσσειν τῷ ἀναγνῶναι; but when to Prayer, κηρύσσειν τῷ εὐχῇ. Prayer began in *Juſtin Martyrs* time παυσαμένου ἀναγινώσκοντος, when the Reader had done, *Apol.* 2. So *Athanaſius* calls to Praying and Reading in terms quite different; προσταξας διάκονον κηρύξαι εὐχήν, ἄνυδις ψαλμὸν λέγειν παρεσκίναστ. So *Socrates*, *l.* 2. *c.* 8. *p.* 545. which in *Theodoret* is, ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν προέτρεπον, καὶ προσταξας εὐχάς. *l.* 2. *c.* 13. *p.* 63, 64. And *Sozomen*, where he ſhows there was an uniformity in his time in

Vide D. H. Preface to Pſalms, in him *Tertull.*

in publick Worſhip; tells us, καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις δὲ καὶ ψαλμῳδίαις ἅμα ἀνῇ, ἢ ἀναγνωσμασί κατ' αὐτὸν χρόνον ἃ πάντας καιρίους ὠφελεῖν ἔοικεν. *Vide* Juſt. nov. 6. *Soz. l.* 7. *c.* 19. It cannot be found that the ſame Prayers or Pſalms, yea or the ſame Readings were uſed by all at the ſame time. p. 36. c. 4.

Indeed it cannot be apprehended how they could read their Prayers, who, while they prayed, had their eyes lift up to Heaven. And that this was the poſture of the antient Chriſtians in Prayer, there is abundant evidence.

Tertullian thus repreſents them praying; *illuc perſpicientes Chriſtiani*, Apol. cap. 30.

And *Clemens Alexandrinus ſtrom.* 7. Πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἐνδιάθετον ὁμιλίαν ὁ θεὸς ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπαΐει, πάντῃ καὶ συντείνομεν τῷ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀειρομένῃ: We raiſe our heads (in Prayer) and lift up hands to Heaven.

To whom we might add *Cyprian ad Demetrium.*

Arnobius, l. 1. p. 28. *Ad Sydera ſublevavit & Cœlum, & cum Domino rerum Deo, ſupplicationum fecit verba, atque orationum colloquia miſcere.*

And *Lactantius. Oculos eo dirigamus, quo illos naturæ ſuæ conditio direxit*, lib. 6. *Cur igitur oculos in cœlum non tollitis*, l. 2. c. 2.

So *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, repreſenting to *Xyſtus* of *Rome* the caſe of that troubled perſon, and that, amongſt other ſcruples, he durſt not joyn with them in Prayer, does it in theſe terms, μηδὲ παῤῥησίαν ἔχειν ἐπᾶραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεόν. *Euſeb. l.* 7. *c.* 8. *p.* 188. Lifting up the eyes to Heaven,

is

is a phraſe, by which Prayer is underſtood in this third Age (*i*).

In the fourth Age, this was *ἀχρμένε χῆμα*. And when they repreſented *Conſtantine* in a praying poſture, it was with eyes lift up to Heaven. So his Effigies in his Coins, Ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ὧδε γεγραφέναι διετύπου, ὡς ἄνω βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀνατεταμένῳ τε τὸν τρόπον ἀχρμένε. *Euſeb. de vita Conſtantini, l.* 4. *c.* 15. *p.* 394. So in his Palace; Ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις — ἐξῆς ὕφθη ἐγεγράφετο, ἄνω μὲν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐμβλέπων τὰ χεῖρε δ' ἐκτεταμένῳ ἀχρμένε χῆμα, *id. ibid.* Others, Ἄνω βλέπειν εἰς οὐρανὸν, in Praiſes. *Vit. conſtant. l.* 4. *cap.* 29.

Chryſoſtom obſerves, from Chriſts poſture in prayer expreſſed, *Jo.* 17. 1. Theſe words ſpake Jeſus, and lift up his eyes to Heaven; that thereby we are taught, when we pray, to lift up both eyes of Body and Mind: Διὰ τοῦτο παιδεύομεθα τὸ ἐκτενὲς τὸ ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἔξω τὸν ἀναβλέπωμεν μὴ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ σαρκὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διανοίας *p.* 890. So *Hillary, Euthymius, Theophylact, Leontius, Ammonius,* in *Maldonat.* on *Mat.* 14. 19. *c.* 302.

And *Auguſtine* intimates as much, when he tells us upon the ſame place, *Ita ſe Patri exhibere voluit precatorem, ut meminiſſet noſtrum ſe eſſe Doctoren*; he ſo prayed, as minding to teach us how we ſhould pray, *Tract. in Joh.* 103. *Tom.* 9. *p.* 621.

Yea *Damaſcen*, upon thoſe words, *Joh.* 11. 41. *Jeſus lift up his eyes and ſaid, Father, I thank thee,* &c. obſerves, *propterea oculos ſuſtuliſſe ut formam nobis traderet orandi.*

(*i*) Or ſhutting their Eyes. *Origen. contra Celſum. l.* 7. *p.* 362. *Aſſyrius,* Ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς οὐρανὸν, ἱκετεύσαι, *Euſeb. l.* 7. *p.* 195.

Whereby

Whereby it appears, that, not only, this *de facto* was their poſture in Praying; but that they thought themſelves obliged to it by Chriſts Example.

Some Biſhops (what may we think of Presbyters and Deacons) could not read, *Blondel.* 500. 501.

So that in *Damaſcens* time, when ſet Forms were grown common, this reading was not in faſhion (*k*); I will not inquire into the reaſons: It may be, that which made *Pliny* loath to read his Pleadings, might hinder them from reading their Prayers. What he ſuggeſts, is obvious to each ones reaſon, and common ſenſe; and whether to ſome it be not applicable to pleaders at another Bar, let others judge. *Neque enim me præterit actiones.* Then he ſays, they are thereby bereaved of many advantages, which render the plea fervent and available, *ut quas ſoleant commendare*, and the want of which muſt needs dull the Auditory; *quo minus mirum eſt, auditorum intentio langueſcit.*

Hortaris ut orationem amicis pluribus recitem, faciam quia hortaris: quamvis vehementer addubitem, neque enim me præterit, actiones quæ recitantur, impetum omnem caloremque, ac prope nomen ſuum perdere, ut quas ſoleant commendare, ſimul & accendere, —— dicentis geſtus, inceſſus, diſcurſus etiam,

(*k*) Hereby it appears that Reading of old was not in faſhion: None had then the opportunity, (though ſince it has been the happyneſs of many) to merit the commendation which *Pliny* gave of his Servant *Zoſimus*. Yet *Pliny* was loath his Orations ſhould be read. His reaſons, though they concern not the Antients, may be conſiderable to others.

omni-

omnibuſque motibus animi conſentaneus vigor corporis,—— Recitantium vero præcipua pronuntiationis adjumenta, oculi, manus præpediuntur ; quo minus mirum eſt ſi Auditorum intentio langueſcit, nullis extrinſecus aut blandimentis capta aut aculeis excitata. Plin. ep. 9. l. 2. What would he have ſaid ; how would this wiſe and judicious Perſon have aggravated theſe diſadvantages, how intolerable would this great Orator have accounted the motion ; if *Cerealis* had moved him, to read the ſame Oration to his Friends whenever they met, at every ſolemn Meeting ?

Chryſoſtome tells us, that in his judgment, it required a greater confidence, then *Moſes* and *Elias* had, to pray as they were wont to do before the Euchariſt. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐ τῶν μωσέως οὐ τῶν Ἠλίου παῤῥησίαν ἐδέησε πρὸς τὸν ποιοῦντα ἱκετεύειν ἀρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι *De Sacerd. orat.* 3. p. 46. Now why ſuch boldneſs was needful, if they had the Prayer in a Book before them, and no more to do then read it, I apprehend not. I never heard of any, who were Maſters of the Art of Reading, that found ſo much confidence neceſſary to exercile their faculty upon any Prayer whatſoever. Παῤῥησία † in him is equivalent to ἀλαζονευτομία, as *Phavorinus*, a boldneſs to expreſs ones ſelf freely, *Epiſt.* p. 186. No freedom is left him, who muſt only read what is preſcribed him. *Vid. in Eph. hom. ult. p.* 892. where παῤῥησία is ἵνα πάντα ἃ ἐπεμελήθην εἰπεῖν, εἴπω. *Vid.* D. H. *N. T.* 319. 1. *Idem tam commode orationes legit, ut hoc ſolum didiciſſe videatur.* Plin. ep. 19. l. 5.

If the Antient Churches had no written Liturgies, no Books of publick Prayers ; they could have no

(†) Εὐχαὶ πεπαῤῥησιασμέναι. Epiſt. λη p. 118.

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preſcribed, no impoſed, no nor any common Liturgies, (*viz.* the ſame in many ſeveral Congregations) though not impoſed. And if there had been any ſuch Service Books, it is not imaginable, but there would have been ſome notice of them in ſome of the Writers of thoſe Ages; yet for this, both we, and thoſe who are moſt concerned to find it, are ſtill to ſeek.

We meet not with any mention of ſuch Books, upon ſuch occaſions, where it might be expected they would be mentioned, if any where; and where we might juſtly look to find them, if they had been to be found.

Thoſe who give a particular account of the Books, Veſſels, and ſeveral Utenſils, which were to be found in the Church, make no mention of any ſuch thing as this. *Vid. Dall. de objecto cultus.*

Amongſt other things, wherewith *Athanaſius* was falſely charged by the *Arrian* faction, to make way for his condemnation: *Macarius* (with reflection upon that great Perſon who imployed him) is accuſed, to have leapt upon the Altar, overthrown the Table, broke the Communion Cup, burnt the Bible; εἰσπηδήσας εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀνέτρεψε μὲν τὴν τράπεζαν, ποτήριον δὲ κατέαξε μυστικὸν, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ βιβλία κατέκαυσε. *Socr. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 20. *p.* 539.

Now it may well be preſumed that *Iſchyras*, the falſe accuſer, incouraged with hopes of a Biſhoprick (which was his reward afterward) and ſo concerned to ſwell the charge as big, and render it as odious as he could, would have added to the reſt ſome indignity offered to the Sacred Liturgy. This had been as eaſily alleadged as the reſt (if the ſubject had been extant) and might have been as hainouſly reſented, if there had been ſuch Liturgies, or ſuch

ſuch opinion of them, as in our times.

When *Gregorius* the *Arrian* Biſhop came to take poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, and entered a Church by force, of what abuſes were offered to all things therein, *Athanaſius* gives a particular account; the Table, ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, the Scriptures, τὰς θείας ἁγ γραφὰς βίβλους, the Font, ἅγιον βαπτιςήριον, the Wine, the Oyl, the Doors and latticed Partitions, θύρας καὶ τὰς κιγκλίδας, the Candleſticks, the Tapers, λυχνίας καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας, ὅλον πολὺν ἀποκείμενον, ἔλαιον. *Ad Africanos ep. tom.* 1. *p.* 729. But not a word of a Service Book, no more then of a Book of Homilies.

When the multitude of Chriſtians ſo increaſed at *Conſtantinople*, that it was thought neceſſary to diſpoſe of them in ſeveral Churches; *Conſtantine* takes care, that thoſe Churches ſhould be reſpectively furniſhed with Bibles; and writes to *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea* to have them prepared accordingly. Now (let thoſe that are for preſcribed Liturgies be Judges) would it not have been requiſite, that thoſe Churches ſhould have been alſo furniſhed with Service Books; and care taken, that theſe ſhould have been likewiſe writ out for them, if any ſuch had been then in uſe? Would *Conſtantine* have omitted this, if he had been of their mind; or would not *Euſebius* (who overlooks nothing of that nature) have added this in commendation of him, if he had made any ſuch proviſion?

Does it not hence appear, that Churches were then thought ſufficiently provided with Books, neceſſary for Divine Service, when they were furniſhed with Bibles? And can it be ſuppoſed that *Conſtantine*, whoſe generouſneſs towards the Church is known to have run out in many ſuperfluities, would

would have been deficient in things accounted in any degree neceſſary?

Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. l. 4. *c.* 34. Ὁ δὲ περὶ ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὅλου πανταχόσε γινομένων καὶ κατασκευῆς διοικήσεων λόγων εἰς ἡμέτερον ἀφίκετο κράτος ἐπιτάξει τοῦ γεγράμμα; and *cap.* 36. *p.* 401. where we have that γεγράμμα.

In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, it is provided; when the Biſhop is ordained, the Book of the Goſpels ſhall be held over his head, *teneat Evangeliorum codicem ſuper caput & cervicem ejus*, *c.* 2. When the Exorciſt is ordained, a Book of Exorciſms is to be given him; *accipiat de manu Epiſcopi libellum, in quo ſcripti ſunt exorciſmi*, *c.* 7. When the Reader is ordained, the Bible, out of which he is to read, is to be delivered him, *can.* 8. *tradet ei codicem, de quo lecturus eſt, dicens ad eum; accipe, & eſto lector verbi Dei.*

But no Book of publick Prayers, either uſed, or delivered, or mentioned, in the Ordination of Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, (the only perſons who miniſtred in the Prayers of the Church) or any other Officer. Yet here, if any where, we might reaſonably have expected to have met with a Service Book, if there had been any at that time.

One of the firſt Books for publick Service, which I meet with, is the *Libellus officialis* in *Conc. Tol.* 4. *Can.* 25. *an.* 633. which ſeems rather but a ſhort Directory, then a compleat Liturgy, given to every Presbyter at his Ordination, to inſtruct him how to adminiſter the Sacraments; leaſt, through ignorance of his Duty herein, he ſhould offend. *Quando Preſbyteri in Parochiis ordinantur, libellum officialem a ſuo Sacerdote accipiant, ut ad Eccleſias ſibi deputatas inſtructi accedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam*

etiam in ipſis divinis Sacramentis Chriſtum offendant. And many of the Canons of that Council had been needleſs, if thoſe Churches had been before furniſhed with ſuch a Liturgy; ſince that would have provided ſufficiently for the ſeverals there decreed. *Can.* 2. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

To aſcend a little higher; in the times of the Churches Perſecution, in the beginning of the fourth Age; if there had been ſuch Service Books, why did not their Perſecutors call for the delivery of them, as they did, not only for the Bible, but for other Church Utenſils? (*Vid. Conc. Arelat. Can.* 13. *in Caranz. p.* 65.) Why hear we of no *traditores* upon this account? It was not the Chriſtians belief contained in the Scripture concerning the true God, or the Gentiles falſe Gods, that did more exaſperate the Heathen againſt them, then their Worſhip. The *Jews*, whoſe belief was as oppoſite to theirs, had a toleration many times, when the Chriſtians were deſtroyed. And *Origen* (*l*) obſerves, that they were not wont to perſecute any for their Opinions, Διὰ ποῖον γὰρ δόγμα ἧπτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις γεγενημένον κολάζονται ἢ ἄλλοι, *adv. Celſ. l.* 2. *p.* 68. There were opinions amongſt their perſecutors concerning God as ſcandalous to the Heathen, as thoſe which the Scripture taught the Chriſtians. The Epicureans wholly denying Di-

(*l*) *Neque de Diis non recte ſentire crederentur, cum non fuiſſe, verum ſævitiæ cauſam ex eo probat Origines, quod Epicureis aliiſque Philoſophis, omnem omnino divinam providentiam tollentibus parcebatur.* Grot.

vine

vine Providence (*m*), which is *Origens* inſtance, *Ibid.* Τὸς πάντα προνοίαν ἀναιρῦντας. holding that their Gods were compoſed of Atoms, οἱ τῶ Ἐπικύρε θεοὶ σύνθετοι ἐξ ἀτόμων τυγχάνοντες *l.* 4. *p.* 169. That there were no rewards nor puniſhments after Death; nor any true good, but what is ſenſible: The *Stoicks* maintaining, that a Wiſe Man was equal to their great God *Jupiter*. *Senec. Ep.* 73. 74. *p.* 672. 673. *Solebat Sextius dicere, Jovem plus non poſſe quam bonum virum.* —— *Deus non vincit ſapientem felicitate, etiamſi vincit ætate.* —— *Sapiens tam æquo animo omnia apud alios videt contemnitque, quam Jupiter: & hoc ſe magis ſuſpicit, quod Jupiter uti illis non poteſt, ſapiens non vult. Et Ep.* 53. 54. *Eſt aliquid, quo ſapiens antecedat Deum: ille naturæ beneficio non ſuo ſapiens eſt; ſuo ſapiens.* Τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν λέγοντες ἀνθρώπε καὶ θεῦ οἱ ὑπὸ τ στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι, μὴ δ' δαιμονίστερον λέγειν εἶναι τ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεὸν τῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ' αὐλὲς σοφῶ, ἀλλ' ἴσην εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων δ' δαιμονίαν. *Origen. adv. Celſ. l.* 6. *p.* 309.

(*m*) Οἱ γὰρ αὐτομάτως τὰ πάντα γενὲς προνοίας κατ' αὐτὲς γένεσιν.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτομάτως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τὰ πάντα γεγονῆσ λέγεσιν, ὡς οἱ Ἐπικύρειοι· οἱ καὶ τὴν δ' ὅλων προνοίαν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀκ εἶναι μυθολογῦσι, *Athanaſ. de incarnatione verbi. p.* 38. *t.* 1.

Τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν μηδ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον ἐνόμιζον, οἱ δ' εἶναι μὲν, μὴ προνοεῖν δὲ· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖν μὸν δ' ἐρανίων μόνον, οἱ δὲ ἀ μόνον δ' ἐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δ' ἐπιγείων· ὁ παντων δὲ. ἀλλὰ δ' ἐξ ἴσης, διον βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοματισμὸν, οἱ δὲ εἱμαρμένην· οἱ δὲ εἰκῆ φερεσθαι τὰ πάντα. *Iſidor. l.* 4. *Epiſt.* 57.

And the *Peripateticks*, with other (*) Philoſophers, curtailing and confining the Providence of God to generals, or to the Orb of the Moon, ſo as Humane affairs were not regarded by him; and all Humane addreſſes to him, were to no purpoſe; οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶ πεπράτε ἀναρθρητον τιὼ φωὴ ἡμᾶς φεύσειαν, κ) τιὼ χρῆσιν φωὴς ἀνθρώπους τῶ Διΐ, *Or.* p. 156. Or as *Juſtin Martyr* repreſents them, *Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 1. Τιμᾶς ἐπιχειρῶσι πείθειν, ὡς τῶ μὲν σύμπαντ' & κ) αὐτῶν οὔτ' γενῶν κ) εἰδῶν ἐπιμελεῖται Θεὸς, ἐμῶ δὲ κ) σῶ ὐκ ἔτι κ) τῶ καθόλε ἕνεκ' ὑδ' ἄν ἠυχόμεθα αὐτῶ δι' ὁλῆς νυκτὸς κ) ἡμέρας.

Nor was it their opinions concerning Worſhip, delivered in the Scripture, ſo much as the exerciſe of their Worſhip, which incenſed the *Gentiles* againſt them. For divers of the Heathen held and publiſhed opinions highly derogatory to their Worſhip; as that of *Heraclitus* to pray before Images, was as wiſe an act, as to talk to a Wall, related, *b.* 1. *Clem. Alexandrin. protrept.* σῦ ἄκυσον φιλοσόφε τῶ ἐφεσίε Ἡρακλείτε κ) ἀγάλμασι τετείσιν ἐυχόντα, ὁκῖον εἴ τις δόμοις λεσχηνεύοιτο (*n*) And *Celſus* in *Orig. l.* 1. *p.* 6. and *l.* 7. *p.* 373. And that of the *Pythagoreans*, who thought it not fit to pray, becauſe it was uncertain what was profitable, and ſo fit to be prayed for, ὐκ ἰσᾶ ἔυχεδς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον, *Laert. in Pythag.* Or that of the Philo-

(*) *Epicur. in Sentc. de benefic.* l. 4. c. 19. p. 442. *Vid. Grot. de jure belli*, p. 443. *Ib.* Cicero, Plutarch, Euſeb. *l.* 15. *c.* 5. Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, μικρὰ σκλώπης σήσας τὸ θεῖον, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶ κόσμε μέρη πεπεγεφὼ τ τῶ Διῒ φυλακήσως, in *Spenſ. not.* in *Orig.* 16. intimated by *Chryſoſtom* in *act.* λογ. νδ' p. 911. Αὐτὸι ὐκ ἀρκεῖσι θεραπείας ἀπολαύειν πὸ ὑπὸ σελήνην. *Vide* Doun. *notas Ariſt.* 10. *Metaphyſ.*

(*n*) Ἠλίῳ εἶναι τὸ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔυχεδς, *Orig. contr Celſ.* p. 375. l. 7.

ſophers

ſophers in *Juſtin Martyr*, who, denying a particular providence, conceived God would take no notice of any perſon, though he ſought him night and day, ἐὰν ἂν ἱκετεύωμεν αὐτὸν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας *Dial. cum Tryph. princip.* And that of the *Peripateticks*, that Prayers and Sacrifices were good for nothing, as *Origen* repreſents (*o*) them, *l.* 2. *p.* 68. Μυθὸν φάσκοντας ἀνεῖναι ἀκοὰς, καὶ τὰς ὡς ἐκεῖ τὸ θεῖον ἰούσας. Who have ſtudied to deſerve *Ariſtippus* Character, ἥν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσαν πεῖσαι ἁρμονίαν ὑποκεῖναι, *Diogen. Laert. Ariſtipp.* And that of the *Platoniſts*, that there was no immediate intercourſe betwixt Mortals and the Cæleſtial Gods; but all addreſſes were to be made by the mediation of Demons, which was croſs to the practice of the generality of the Heathen, in their Devotions. And what more vilifies their Worſhip, then that of *Seneca*, *Quæ omnia ſapiens ſervabit, tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam Diis grata.* And that, *ſic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum magis ad morem, quam ad rem pertinere* (*p*). Juſt ſuch apprehenſions as many prudential Conformiſts have of our Formality and Ceremonious Worſhip, yet both complying with the preſent Modes injoyned, and making ſome ſhew of liking what they ſecretly derided; for which feigned conſent, and not ſetting up any other way of Worſhip, they (ſeveral ſorts of the Philoſophers) eſcaped then, and ours now well enough.

(*o*) Οὐ μόνον τὸ εὐχὰς τοῖς ἀγάλμασι λιλίσθον ὄζιν, ἀλλὰ γαρ καὶ τὸ συμπεφερόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς περιεπτείας τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὐχὰς — ὅπου ποιῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πείρατε φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἐπικούρου ἢ Δημοκείτε ἀσπαζόμενοι. *Orig. cont. Celſ.* l. 7. p. 375.

(*p*) *Quomodo ſint Dii colendi, ſolet præcipi. Accendere aliquem lucernam Sabbathis prohibeamus: quoniam nec lumine Dii egent, &*

ne homines quidem delectantur ſuligine. Vetemus ſalutationibus matutinis fungi & foribus aſſidere templorum. Humana ambitio iſtis officiis capitur; Dium colit, qui novit, vetemus lintea & ſtrigiles Jovi ferre, & ſpeculum tenere Junoni. Non quærit miniſtros Deus, &c. ſatis illos coluit, quiſquis imitatus eſt. Senec. ep. 95. p. 791.

Οὐδὲν ὅτως ἰσχυρὸν ἕλκει ἀνθρώποις ὡς συνηθείας πελαιᾶς τυραννὶς —— ὥδιν γὰρ ὅτω θορυβεῖ ψυχὴν, κὰν ὅτι χρησίμω τινὶ γίνηται, ὡς καινοτομεῖν τε κὴ ξενίζειν, κὴ μάλιστα ὅταν περὶ λατρείας κὴ περὶ τ τῶ θεῶ δόξης τότο γίνηται. *Chryſ. in 1 Cor. hom.* 7. *p.* 286. Πάντα γὰρ τὰς διχολαίτερον ἀμείφειν ἢ τὰ περὶ θρησκείας — διὰ δὴ τότο κὴ τίνες τὴν ἔξωθεν διέτηρεν φύσιν τὴν συνήθειαν ἐκάλεσαν. *Ib. ibid.*

Now if the exerciſe of the Chriſtian Worſhip, which lay, as is ſuppoſed, in the pretended Liturgy, were as odious to the Heathen, as their Tenets concerning God and his Worſhip, which lay in the Bible; if there had been any ſuch Liturgies, why would not the *Gentiles* have been as zealous, to deſtroy them as the Scriptures?

However it may well be ſuppoſed, that the delivery of the Chriſtians Liturgies, if there had been any, would have been required, if not as much as that of their Bibles, yet more then that of their other Church Utenſils. *Torti Prodoſis, Euſeb. l.* 8. *p.* 242. Since 'tis obſervable, that the *Romans*, who forced the Chriſtians upon that crime, for which they were denominated *Traditores*, were more zealous againſt new Liturgies, though Heatheniſh, then againſt new Gods. Theſe they did more then tolerate, thoſe they would not endure. An inſtance hereof we have in *Livy*, *Dec.* 3. *lib.* 5. *p.* 111. Some at *Rome* made bold to Sacrifice and Pray in a way not conformable to the *Roman* Mode. *Mulierum turba erat, nec ſacrificantium nec precantium Deos patrio more.* This was hainouſly reſented by all ſorts; *primo ſecretæ bonorum indigna-*

tiones

tiones exaudiebantur, deinde ad Patres etiam, & ad publicam querimoniam exceſſit res. The inferiour Magiſtrates are ſharply taken up by the Senate, becauſe they did not hinder it; *accuſati graviter ab Senatu ædiles, triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* And when their endeavours were not effectual to ſuppreſs it; the Prætor is imployed therein by the Senate; who, by their order, commands all the new Liturgies to be delivered in to him by ſuch a day, —— *Edixit ut quicunque libros vaticinos, precationeſve, aut artem ſacrificandi conſcriptam haberet, eos libros omnes literaſque ad ſe ante Calend. Apriles deferret.*

We ſee, they would not tolerate Heatheniſh Liturgies, differing from what they uſed only in Mode and Rites, though conformable as to the ſubſtance and object of their Worſhip. Would they not be more violent for the delivering up of Chriſtian Liturgies, more oppoſite to them every way, if there had been any? But there's not a word, in the Antients, of any ſuch demand, or any complyance therewith, or any cenſure of ſuch complyance; when the demand and delivery of other things leſs material, leſs offenſive to them, and proceeding againſt the *Traditors*, are frequently mentioned.

Auguſtine alleadges ſome things frequently prayed for in publick, but not as in the words of any written Liturgy, but of the Adminiſtrator, *Quando audis Sacerdotem Dei ad altare, &c. Ep.* 107. *p.* 567. And the ſame Petitions he afterwards ſets down in other words; which ſignifies, he had them not out of any preſcribed or written Liturgy; for then they (would, they) muſt have been the ſame; *Pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad*

fidem; but *p.* 577. *Ut incredulas Gentes ad fidem ſuam venire compellat. Pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod eſſe ceperunt, munere ſuo perſeverent*; and *p.* 578. *Ut proficiant in eo quod eſſe ceperunt.*

Auguſtine mentions the publick Prayers againſt *Pelagians*; but no otherwiſe, then as he might have alleadged the extemporary petitions of ſuch, who ſeeking the ſame things that Chriſtians uſually do, uſe not the ſame words; and agreeing in the ſubject, vary other ways in the expreſſions; without any intimation, that they were preſcribed or in variable Forms. And elſewhere with ſome note of uncertainty, whether they did ſo pray, or whether thoſe were their words in publick; whereas if they had been in a common written Liturgy, he would have known it, and might have been poſitive; or ſome intimation of liberty they had to uſe thoſe words or not, thoſe or others; *ſi voluerimus.*

Finally, it cannot with any reaſon be ſuppoſed, but, if there had been ſuch Liturgies, they would have been made uſe of againſt the Errours, and for deciding the Controverſies, wherewith the Church was exerciſed in the Ages we are concerned in. To wave others, there were two eſpecially as to which they might have been this way apparently ſerviceable; *viz.* That concerning the Godhead of Chriſt, oppoſed in the firſt, ſecond, third and fourth Age eſpecially. And that concerning the ἀναμαρτησία of the faithful; and other errors, with which *Pelagius* and his adherents troubled the Churches in the beginning of the fifth Age, and afterwards. His Tenet ſee *Auguſt. contr. 2 ep. Pelag. l.* 4. *c.* 2. *p.* 239.

None will fancy a Chriſtian Liturgy, wherein there

there is not ſome acknowledgment of, or ſome addreſs to Chriſt as God, or wherein there is not ſome confeſſion of ſin, or ſome petition for pardon, in Prayers proper to the faithful, ſomething equivalent to petition in the Lords Prayer, forgive us our Treſpaſſes, and ſo no Liturgies, wherein there was not evidence enough againſt both thoſe errours, and others alſo of the *Pelagians*, inconſiſtent with the neceſſity of the grace of God.

And it will be granted, that if thoſe who were judicious had the managing of thoſe Controverſies, if they thought it requiſite to make uſe of Humane Teſtimony, they would make choice of that which is moſt cogent and convictive.

Now they did make uſe of Humane Teſtimony, as we find both that unnamed Author in *Euſebius*, *l.* 5. *c.* xx. *p.* 145. who confuting *Artemons* error, who maintained Chriſt was only ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος. alleadges *Juſtin Martyr*, *Miltiades*, *Tatian*, *Clemens*, *Irenæus*, *Melito*, and the Hymns compoſed by the Brethren of old, ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι, καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γεγραφῶσαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες; but not a word of any Prayers, antient or written, by Brethren or Fathers; which yet (by one who, as it is apparent, induſtriouſly ſought out all ſorts of confirmations) would not have been omitted; as tending as much, if there had been ſome written of old; but contributing much more, to the confirming of that truth, if there had been any injoyned to be publickly and generally uſed. Alſo *Athanaſius* againſt the *Arrians*, and *Auguſtine* againſt the *Pelagians* (*), two of the

(*) *Athanaſ. Syn. nic. contr. Hæreſ. Arrian. decret.* tom. 1. p 240. quotes *Theognoſtus* ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ὑποτυπώσεων Alſo *Dionyſ.* of *Alexand.* and of *Rome*, with *Origen*. Elſewhere *Ignatius*.

moſt judicious Writers that thoſe Ages afforded, make uſe of the Teſtimonies of their Predeceſſors and Contemporaries; but alledge not one paſſage out of a Service-Book, or any Prayers written, or ſo as to give us occaſion to think there were any ſuch uſed publickly, and authorized; whereas they could not but apprehend as well as we, that one clear allegation out of an antient and commonly received Liturgy would have been more cogent and convictive, then any, or all the particular Teſtimonies, they produce; (ſince the judgment of whole Churches, in ſeveral Ages too, is far more conſiderable, then of many particular perſons).

Auguſtine, and others alleadge, againſt the *Pelagians*, divers things, which were frequently prayed for in publick; but without ſignifying in the leaſt wiſe, that the Prayers were written or antient, (which he in *Euſebius* thought it requiſite to expreſs, concerning the Hymns he mentions) or that they were generally received, or the ſame Form, or authorized for the publick Service, or preſcribed to be invariably uſed. Yet in theſe particulars lay the force and the advantage of ſuch an allegation; and that which would render it moſt conſiderable, and of far more weight then the Teſtimony of ſingle Writers: And therefore undoubtedly would have been inſiſted on (if there had been any ſuch thing to urge) by any, who knew how to manage an Argument, or to make uſe of a very obvious advantage.

So that we may conclude, either the greateſt wits and judgments of thoſe times were not wiſe enough to diſcern the beſt advantages they had from Humane

Humane Teſtimony, ſuch as were obvious to every eye; and either could not manage them, as thoſe of ordinary capacities amongſt us can do; or would not improve them, as the intereſt of the truth they contended for, and their faithfulneſs to it required; and ſo were either injudicious or unfaithful; or elſe that they had no ſuch advantages to make uſe of, and ſo no ſuch Liturgies.

Further, if there were ſuch Liturgies, how comes it to paſs, that we meet with no intelligence of any changing of them, or alterations made in them, upon ſuch occaſions, as we may well conceive would neceſſarily draw on ſuch changes, and in all probability bring us ſome account thereof. *Quiſquis unquam*, ſays one, *Religionem mutavit, & orandi rationem mutavit: nulla unquam Hæreſis fuit, quæ non continuo ſuas effinxerit preces. Mald.* in *Luc.* 11. This being ſo, we may expect to meet with frequent mention of rejecting old Liturgies, and compoſing new, of altering or correcting them, if the antient mode of Praying was by preſcribed Liturgies. But I have not yet met with any mention thereof, no not in thoſe circumſtances, wherein, if any where, it might be expected.

The Hereſie of *Artemon*, holding that Chriſt was a meer Terrene Creature, having ſeized on *Paulus Samoſatenus* (λέγει Ἰησοῦν χρεῖον γεγονέναι) Biſhop of *Antioch*; the Fathers of the Council held there, upon that occaſion, tell us, in their circular Epiſtle, that he prohibited the uſe of the Pſalms ſung in the honour of Chriſt. Ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν χρεῖον πάντας. *Euſeb. l.* 7. *cap.* λ. *lib.* 24. And would he have tolerated a Liturgy, whoſe contents were

as

as much for the honour of Chriſt? Or can there be ſuppoſed a Liturgy, which had nothing in it for the honour of Chriſt εἰς δοξαν. And if he had made as bold with a Liturgy, would this have been concealed by thoſe Fathers, who are ſo large and particular, in giving an account of all his impieties, innovations, preſumptions, (that the juſtice of their proceeding againſt him might be clear to the world), not omitting thoſe Hymns, which were of leſs moment?

When the *Arrians* ſo far prevailed, as they had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the publick Churches, in a great part of the Chriſtian World, the *Eaſt* eſpecially (ſo as the Orthodox, reduced to Conventicles, were glad to keep them in private Houſes, Fields, Woods, or where elſe they could or durſt) they had power and opportunity to make what changes they would; and no leſs will and forwardneſs, ſhewing ſufficiently how much they were given to change, and that no reſpect would reſtrain from altering any thing, which croſt their tenet, by the alterations they made in the Doxology, in the words of Chriſt for adminiſtring Baptiſm, yea in the Scriptures themſelves, as *Ambroſe* tells us, *de Spiritu Sancto.* 3. 11. And remarkably in the univerſally received Confeſſion of Faith, ſince they made a new Creed almoſt every other year. *Socrates* gives a particular account of three in little more then twenty years, *Hiſt. lib.* 4. *c.* 32. *p.* 604.

And what could reſtrain this innovating humour (when they had power enough) from aboliſhing or altering the ſuppoſed Liturgies, if they were but tempted to it, by what they would count a juſt occa-

occaſion? And ſuch occaſion they had, if thoſe Liturgies contained any thing in favour of the Eternal Godhead of Chriſt, or his equality with the Father, or the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt (which the *Semi-Arrians* oppoſed). And ſome things (if not many) of this tendency they contained, if they were Chriſtian Liturgies. Why is it then, that we hear not a word of their changing any old Liturgy, or compoſing any new; when we hear of their making bold both with that of greater moment and leſs? And how is it that their Antagoniſts, who thought themſelves and their cauſe concerned, to give a full account of their innovations, (conceiving their Novelties to be one of the great advantages they had againſt them, and improving it, by publiſhing them to the World) make no mention of any ſuch thing? In all reaſon this muſt be, becauſe there was no ſuch thing, no occaſion for it, no ſuch Liturgies then in faſhion.

We hear alſo afterwards, when *Eutychianiſm* was prevailing, what a tumult was made in *Conſtantinople*, what a noiſe through the World by the adding of one word or two, ὁ ἐσταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, to the *Triſagion*, the Hymn ſo called. *Theodor. Lect. collect. l.* 2. *p.* 187.

And could more changes be made in ſetled Liturgies (with whoſe Forms and Prayers the people are preſumed to have been as well acquainted, and longer accuſtomed to them, then to that Hymn) without any noiſe, without any notice?

Certainly, if they had been aboliſhed, or ſuch alterations made in them, we ſhould have heard of it,

it, ſome where or other. And if there were no changes made therein, upon ſo great changes of the Chriſtian Religion, it was becauſe there was none to be changed, no ſuch Liturgies extant.

In general, that they had no ſuch publick Liturgies for the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, appears by this; that they thought themſelves obliged, with all care to conceal the Symbols, the Rites, the Prayers uſed in theſe adminiſtrations, from the ſight and knowledge of all that were not initiated. The Chriſtians, in the fourth and fifth Ages eſpecially, counted it a hainous crime, to have any of the Heathen or *Catechumens* acquainted therewith; ſome of them make it no leſs (*) then Sacriledge, (†) one of the greateſt crimes, and (‖) worthy of the higheſt cenſure, *prolixiori anathemate.*

Hence they durſt not adminiſter them in the ſight of the ἀμύητοι, nor diſcourſe of them intelligibly in the hearing of ſuch, nor commit them to writing for common uſe; that being the way to have them divulged.

They called Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper, and the Prayers uſed therein, with ſome other Rites, μυστήρια (r), and uſed them according to the import

(*) *Chriſtianis ipſis minime conſecratis ſine Sacrilegio videri non poteſt. Author ſermonum de continentia*; not *Zeno Veronenſis*, who lived about ; but one who ſays in that Sermon, he writ four hundred years after the Epiſtle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians* was written.

(†) Ὅσον γὰρ ἡ ἱερωσύλια κακὸν, ἐφ' ὃ δεῖν εἰπεῖν. *Chryſoſt.* in 2 Tim. hom. 2. p. 338.

(‖) *Concil. Herdenſ.*

(r) *Sacræ orationis myſterium. Ambroſ. de fide, ad Gratianum*, l. 5. μεταποιοῦνται γὰρ ἀῤῥήτοις λόγοις εἰ ἀῤῥήτου ἔτου

Did

διὰ τ μυστικῆς ἀλοχίας. *Theodoret* in *Joh.* 6. And *Chryſoſtom* of the words uſed in Baptiſm, μὴ γὰρ τῶν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων ἢ φοβερῶν — ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν. in 1 *Cor.* hom. 40. p. 514. *obſecrationum Sacramenta.* Cæleſtin epiſt. c. 11. in Crab. p. 525. *Obſecrationum quoque Sacerdotalium Sacramenta reſpiciamus, quæ ab Apoſtolis tradita in toto mundo, & in omni catholica Eccleſia uniformiter celebrantur*, 2. Ibid. *& in fine operum proſperi*, p. 894. *uniformiter*, becauſe they all pray for the ſame things, *viz.* thoſe which he ſpeaks of; that there was every where an uniformity in words, is apparently falſe.

Ἐπιτηροῦντες τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ἀλοχίων τελετάς. *Balſam. in Can.* 126. *Cod.* μυστικὰς ἀλοχίας. *Cyril. Alexandr. epiſt. ad nſtor. cum* 12 *anathem.*

Nos autem quoties Sacramenta ſumimus, quæ per ſacræ orationis myſterium in carnem tranſfigurantur & ſanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus. Ambr. de fide, ad Grat. c. 5.

Chriſti corpus & ſanguinem dicimus illud tantum, quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum, & prece myſtica conſecratum rite ſumimus. Auguſt. de trinitate 3. c. 4.

De baptiſmo Chryſoſt. catechet. ad illuminandos. Ἀ τοῖς ἱερεῖς τότοις καὶ φειτοῖς μέλλοντα φωτίζεσθαι μυσηρίοις ἐγρηγορέναι χρὴ

Μυσήριον γὰρ γινωσκόμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ὃσι λοιπὸν θαυμαζόμενον. *Anth. quæſt. ad Antioch. in Athanaſ. tom.* 2. *p.* 275.

of the word, which in *Phavorinus* is ἄῤῥητον σιβας καὶ τὸ ἀπόῤῥητον, and derived ἀπὸ τὸ ἄπτα μύσαντα δεῖ τηρεῖν ἔνδον as concerned to keep thoſe ſecrets to themſelves, and confine them to their own breaſts, without communicating them to others, either by action, word, or writing. It is not at all a myſtery, ſayes *Baſil*, if it be expoſed to common notice; ὑφ' ὃλος μυσήριον τὸ εἰς τὴν δημώδη καὶ εἰκαῖαν ἀκοὴν ἐκφερόμ. *de Spiritu Sancto*, *p.* 273. 'Tis a myſtery, ſayes *Chryſoſtom*, therefore keep all cloſe, *&c.* μυσήριον ὃσι — κλεῖσον τοίνυν τὰς θύρας ἵνα μὴ τὶς ἴδῃ ἔξω ἢ θύρα. in *Math. hom.* 82. *p.* 451. uſing a like phraſe to that, wherewith *Orpheus* begins the diſcourſe of his Myſteries, for the divulging of which

Diagoras

Diagoras (amongſt other crimes of the like nature) was preſcribed.

Φθέγξομαι ὅτις ἄθεμις ἔξι, θεοῖς δ' ὁπόσοι βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς——

Indeed the Chriſtians came not far ſhort of the Heathen herein, if they had not a deſign to overtake them.

Celſus objecting the ſecrets of Chriſtianity, τὸ κρύφιον δόγμα, as matter of accuſation. *Origen* anſwers, it was not peculiar to Chriſtians (ἓν μόνον ἴδιον τῶν χειςιανῶν λόγου) to have ſome things reſerved from common knowledge (μὴ εἰς τὰς πολλὰς φθάνοντα). The Heathen had their Myſteries alſo, and thoſe both Philoſophical and Devotional. He inſtanceth in both. For the former, *Pythagoras* (who himſelf was obliged to be circumciſed, that he might procure admiſſion to the *Ægyptian* ſecrets. *Clem. Alexandr. ſtrom.* 1.) had ſome hearers who learnt in ſecret, ſuch things as were not fit for profane Ears, nor yet purified; ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διδασκόμενοι τὰ μὴ ἄξια φθάνειν εἰς ἀκοὰς βεβήλως, καὶ μηδέπω καθαρθέντας, *lib.* 1. *contr. Celſ. p.* 7. And for the latter, he ſayes, all the myſteries every where, both in *Greece*, and amongſt the barbarous were not blamed for being kept ſecret, καὶ πάντα δὲ παντα χοῦ μυστήρια καὶ παρ' ἑλλήσι καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις κρύφια ὄντα ἐ διαβέβληται, *p.* 8. (*s*). And *Seneca* before him mentions both, where he will have *Lucilius* obſerve the dif-

(*s*) Ἄλλο γὰρ δόγμα καὶ ἄλλο κήρυγμα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἐςὶ σιωπᾶται, τὸ δὲ κήρυγμα ἀκουσίδεται Baſil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27. p. 273.

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ference between δόγμα & *præceptum*, ep. 95. *Idem dicere de præceptis poſſum, aperta ſunt; decreta vero ſapientia in abdito, ſicut ſanctiora ſacrorum tantum initiati ſciant, ita in philoſophia arcana illa admiſſis receptiſque in ſacra oſtenduntur; at præcepta & alia hujuſmodi profanis quoque nota ſunt*, p. 794. None were admitted to the ſight of their Myſtical Rites, but the initiated; others were warned to withdraw (*t*).

—— *Procul*, o *procul ite profani*,
Conclamat vates, *totoque abſiſtite luco*. Virg. Æn. 6.

Ἐκὰς ἐκὰς ὅσις ἀλίτης.

And if they would venture to be preſent, it was at their peril (*u*). As *Pentheus* in *Pauſanias* (*w*); and thoſe of *Acarnania* in *Livy* found it. *Nero* durſt not venture, *eleuſiniis ſacris*, *quorum initiatione impii & ſcelerati voce præconis ſubmoverentur*, *intereſſe non auſus eſt*. Sueton. ner. c. 34.

They would not ſpeak of them in the hearing of others, ὁ λέγων τοῖς ἀμύητοις τὰ μυστήρια ἀσεβεῖ; He is

(*t*) So *Prudentius* in *Apoth.* repreſents the Heathen, excluding Chriſtians from their myſteries,

—— *Lotus procul eſto & inteſtus.*

(*u*) *Timore initiorum duo Juvenes Acarnanes*, *qui non initiati erant*, *Athenas venerant*, *& in Sacrarium Cereris*, *cum aliis popularibus ſuis intraverunt*, *ob hoc tanquam nefas ſummum — cæſi ſunt*, *flor. epit.*

(*w*) *Penthæum aiunt*; *ut fœminarum operta ſacra ſpecularetur*, *in arborem aſcendiſſe*, *atque inde omnia conſpicatum*, *quod cum Bacchæ animadvertiſſent*, *impetu facto viventem eum laceraſſe*, *ac membratim diſcerpſiſſe*, Pauſan. l. 2. Livy dec. 4. l. 1. p. 7. vid. fig. infra.

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impious that ſpeaks of the myſteries to thoſe that are not initiated, ſayes *Chryſippus* in *Laertius*. This was part of *Alcibiades* crime, *myſteria Cereris enuntiaviſſe* (*x*). And *Auguſtus*, when he was to hear a Cauſe, wherein theſe myſteries were touched, would not let it be opened, till the Company was diſmiſſed (*y*).

They would not commit them to Writing. And ſo we may obſerve, that when the Antient Writers have occaſion to deliver any thing particularly concerning them, they wave it with an ἄῤῥητος : So *Apollonius* of the *Samothracian* myſteries.

Νῆσος ὁμῶς κικλήεσκετο καὶ ὅτι λάχεν ὄργια καῖνα,
Δαίμονες ἐννάται, τὰ μὲν ἄῤῥητος ἄμμιν ἀείδω. l. 1. Argon.

Numenius (*z*) venturing to write of them underſtood by a Dream, he had incurred *offenſam numi-*

(*x*) *Alcibiades abſens Athenis inſimulatur myſteria Cereris initiorum ſacra, nullo magis quam ſilentio ſolemnia enuntiaviſſe*, Juſtin Hiſt. l. 5. c. 1. Vid. Cornel. nepos, in Alcibiad.

(*y*) *Athenis initiatus, cum poſtea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio Sacerdotum Atticæ Cereris cognoſceret, & quædam ſecretiora proponerentur, dimiſſo Concilio & corona circumſtantium, ſolus audiit diſceptantes*, Sueton. Octav. Auguſt. cap. 93. p. 103.

Pauſanias of the ſame, Ὅσοις δ' ἔξεστιν ὁ κάθαρσις καὶ ὅπῃ χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ μυηθεῖσι τὰ δρώμενα, σιωπὴν ἄγοντι ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς συγγνώμη ἔχει μοι, Bœoticis vid. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſenſ. infra.

(*z*) *Numenio denique intir Philoſophos occultorum curioſiori offenſam numinum, quod Eleuſina ſacra interpretando vulgaverit ſomnia prodiderunt*, Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 2. p. 25.

Tarquinius autem Rex M. Tullium Duumvirum, quod librum ſecreta civilium ſacrorum continentem cuſtodiæ ſuæ commiſſum, corruptus Petronio Sabino deſcribendum dediſſet, culeo inſutum in mare abjici juſſit; idque ſupplicii genus multo poſt parricidii lege irrogatum eſt. Val. Max. l. 1. c. 1. p. 8.

nium.

num, as *Macrobius* tells us. But *M. Atilius* fared worſe, ſuffering as a Parricide, for permitting the *Sibylls* Books in his cuſtody (containing *ſecreta civilium ſacrorum*, and uſed by the *Romans* as their extraordinary Ritual) to be tranſcribed ; ὡς παρεκτόνον εἰς ἄσκον ἐξρᾶφας βίβλον, ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l.* 4.

If they truſted them to Writing, it was in ſecret Character, ſuch as could not be underſtood by thoſe, from whom they were to be concealed (*a*). *Literis ignorabilibus*, as *Apuleius* of the Rites of *Iſis* (*b*) ; *Ipſa myſteria figurarum cuniculis operiuntur*, ſayes *Macrobius* ; *& figuris defendentibus a vilitate ſecretum*, Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 2. p. 23. Such were the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks, and uſed on purpoſe for ſuch concealment ; they could not be underſtood without a Μυσαγωγὸς to interpret them ; and he explained them not, but in ſecret ; and there but to ſome few ſelect Hearers, as the Author of the *Quæſt. ad Orthod.* tells us ; τὰ ἱερογλυφικὰ καλούμενα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐγκεκριμένοις ἐξηγεῖσθαι δεδιδόμενα p. 146.

(*a*) Σιωπῆς δὲ εἶδος ἡ ἀσάφεια ἢ κέχρηται ἡ γραφὴ διαστήματα καὶ κολάζουσα τὴν ἀγμάτων ἀ νῶν, &c. Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. p. 273. And *Leo Philoſophus* ; Laws were not to be writ obſcurely, becauſe they were not myſteries. ὁ γὰρ μυστήρια τὰ νόμιμα ἀλλ' ἀναγορεῦον αὐτὰ τῆς πολλῶν καταλήψεως, Novel. 77.

(*b*) *Summus Sacerdos*—— *de opertis adytis præfert quoſdam libros literis ignorabilibus prænotatos ; partim figuris cujuſcemodi animalium, concepti Sermonis compendioſa verba ſuggerentis ; partim nodoſis & in modum rotæ tortuoſis, capreolatimque condenſis apicibus, a curioſitate profanorum lectione munita. Indidem mihi prædicat quæ forent ad uſum teletæ neceſſario præparanda.* Metamorph. lib. 11. p. 208.

Ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὀρᾶν ἄπαντα ὁ θεὸς, ἔτι δὲ ὁρῶντων ἀκούειν, οἶδ' ἂν ὁστισοῦν ὁμολογήσειεν ὅμως δεῖν. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. 1. Συγγεγραῦς ἀνέπαφα. *Syneſ. infra.*

Cyril Catech. 6. p. 80. Οὐ δεῖ τὴν μυστικὴν ὁδὸν κατηχυμένοις λαοῖς λαλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις λόγοις ὁπικαλυπτομένοις, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πρὸς νοήσωσι· καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες, μὴ βλασφῶσι.

Ἱερολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τελεῖσθαι τὰ Ὀσίριδος, ὡς κίνδυνος ἐξαλλαγὴν φέρειν τῷ διηγουμένῳ. *Oſiridis hiſtoria ſacris ſermonibus myſteriiſque celebris eſt ita ut periculoſum ſit eam monimentis & narrationibus commendari.* Syneſ. de Providentia, p. 123.

Ἱερὸς λόγος ἐστὶν, ὃν ἔχ ὅσιον ἐξαγορεῦσαι· οὐδὲ ἐν μύθῳ γράμματι, Id. ibid. Sect. 1. p. 115. Συγγεγραῦς ἀνέπαφα (*monimentis intacta*) καὶ τίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὅμιλα βάλοιτο. p. 124.

Εἰ γὰρ θείων λογίων κατήκοοι ἐγένοντο τὸ τῆ Δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀμωμήτου ἡμῶν θρησκείας σεβάσμιον ἐφύλαττον, καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς καὶ ἀλόγους ἡδονὰς παρ' ἡμῖν ἁγίαν καὶ σεβασμίαν ἄλαδε ὁ συνεχώρουν. Ibid. l. 4. p. 144.

Ἴσασιν δὲ οἱ μύσται τὸ λεγόμενον. Id. epiſt. 162. l. 4.

Λόγοι βοῶσι τὰς ἀναλλοιώτους καὶ ἐποπτευόντας ὄργια Διονύσου συναρπάσαι, ὅτι γὰ ἐκφήνας, ὅτι ἴδιον ἡμισεῖται θεῶν τῶν θείων Id. ibid. Syneſ. de Provid. 124.

Λέγομεν ἢ συνάμεθα θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀβέβηλα, Id. ibid.

Ἀλλ' ἀλαζονεύεσθαι γὰ ἤδη μὴ τὰ καὶ τῆ ἀῤῥήτων ἐξοχωμεθα. Id. 125.

Τοῖς ἀποῤῥήτοις τῶν μύθων —— ὁποῖα ἄττα ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ ἔπου θέμις ἐξαγορεῦσαι. 128.

Καὶ τελετὰς μὲν μηδὲ ὁ λόγος κινείτω, Id. de inſomniis.

The Council of *Laodicea*, ſetting down the place and order of thoſe Prayers, ſhews us, they were made μὴ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους.

Ἐπιμνώσκεσθε ἀλλήλων μὴ τὶς θεὸς ἀλλοφυλῶν ἀναμέμικται adv. *Judæos.*

I will not ſay, the Chriſtians imitated the *Gentiles* herein, eſpecially if the practice began ſo early as *Tertullian* (which ſome ſuppoſe, becauſe he waves the mention of the Sacrament, when he had occaſion to give the Heathen an account thereof, in ſuch circumſtances, as *Juſtin Martyr* before him

him had plainly deſcribed it). For there is a great zeal viſible in his Writings againſt complyances with the Heathen. Yet will I not deny, but that this cuſtom amongſt the *Gentiles* might have ſome influence upon Chriſtians in after Ages; when it was thought a good expedient (how rightly experience afterwards ſhewed) for drawing the *Pagans* over to them, to meet them in ſome of their obſervances. And it is evident, that many uſages amongſt the Antients were continued upon other conſiderations then thoſe, to which they owed their original.

However, it is undeniable, that ſuch concealments were in uſe amongſt them, and particularly as to the Prayers which were made in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and ſome other Rites counted myſterious.

None, but the initiated, were permitted to be preſent at theſe Prayers; περὶ ἀμυήτων ἐδίνα χρὴ παρεῖναι, as *Chryſoſtom*, having ſaid before, ὅταν ἀκέραιοι λειτουργῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ; none but the faithful were to be preſent, when they began Euchariſtical Prayers. Thoſe that were not fit to partake of the Myſteries, were not fit to hear the Prayers, ἐκ εἰ τ θυσίας ἄξιοι, ἐδὲ τ μεταλήψεως: ἐκεῖν ἐδὲ τ διδαχῆς; they were warned to depart, ἀκούσῃς ἐρῶτ τὸ κήρυκ, καὶ λέγοντ, ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες— ἀπέλθετε οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι συνθύειν. And this was done in reference to the Prayers, τοῦτο γίνεται δια περὶ διδαχῆν, δια τ βοῆς τὸ κήρυκ. Thoſe that were unworthy to ſee, were unworthy to hear; ἀνάξιοι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ περὶ τοιούτων τύπων, ἀνάξιαι καὶ ἀκοαὶ. in *Epheſ. Hom.* 3. p. 778, 779.

(*) So elſewhere he ſays, the *Catechumens* were forced away from theſe Prayers, ἀπελαύνονται τῆς φευκτῶν δ' ὄχων ἐκείνων γνομένων; they never heard thoſe concealed Myſteries, ἐδὲ γὸ ἤκουσαν τῆς ἀποῤῥήτων μυστηρίων, applying that of the Apoſtle to them, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ εἶδε, &c. in 2 *Cor. hom.* 2. *p.* 553.

So for Baptiſm, the firſt Council of *Orange* decrees, the *Catechumens* ſhould not come at the Font, *Catechumeni ad Baptiſteria nequaquam admittendi*, Can. 13. And the pretended *Dionyſius* begins his diſcourſe of Baptiſm with μυσταὶς ἀτέλεσ& ὀπὶ τῶ λόγω ἰέτω, *Hier. eccl. c.* 2. §. 1. *p.* 21. conformably enough to the uſage of his times, though not of the Apoſtle.

When they have occaſion to ſpeak of theſe Prayers in their Sermons to a promiſcuous Auditory, they decline any recital of them, with their uſual *Apoſiopeſis*, *Norunt fideles*, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, οἱ μύσται, or οἱ περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον, ſo frequent in *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Theodoret*, as to the Euchariſt.

(*) *Adverſariis Athanaſii, pro crimine magno objectum ſit, quod de calice confracto contenderint coram Ethnico,* καὶ ἐκ ἀρνοῦνται ταῦτα — ὀπὶ κατηχεμένων καὶ τὸ γε χείεκον ὀπὶ Ἑλλήνων τεθρωδῆντες τὰ μυστήρια, ἃ χρὴ γὸ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμύητοις τεθρωδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ Ἕλλησιν μὸ ἀγνοῦντες γελῶσι, κατηχέμενοι ὃ θεσπεσίοις νόμοισι ϛκανδαλίζωνται, Syn. Alexandrina apud Athanaſium Apol. 2. p. 569. tom. 1. edit. Commel. 1601.

Ἐπὶ γῆς ἐθνικῶν ἐξέταζον περὶ ἐκκλησίας, περὶ ποτηρίου, περὶ τραπέζης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ τὸ ἀληθέσερον, ἐθνικὸς ἐκάλεσε μάρτυρας, περὶ ποτηρίου μυστικῦ ζητῦντες, Ioid. p. 571.

So *Julian*, expreſſes himſelf, aſtoniſht, παρόντων κατηχεμένων, τότε χείεκον ὀπὶ ἐθνικῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐῆς διαβεβλημένον περὶ τῆ Χειϛιανίϛων ἐξέτασις περὶ αἵματ& Χειϛῦ καὶ σώματ& γίνεσθαι. Epiſt. in Apol. 2.

For

For the Prayers in Baptiſm, ſee *Chryſoſtom* in *Gal.* 4. 15. *p.* 748. in 1 *Cor.* 15. 29. *hom.* 40. *p.* 514. in 2 *Cor.* 1. *hom.* 2. *p.* 555.

Nor might they commit them to Writing; that was the way to divulge them. Writing was counted a publiſhing, though but in an Epiſtle to a private Friend. So *Baſil* to *Meletius*, "Ινα μὴ ἐν γεγράμμασι δημοσιώσω — διὰ γλώσσης τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θεοσεβεστάτῳ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῇ σῇ τελειότητι. that what he was intimating, might not be divulged by Writing it, he would acquaint *Theophraſtus* therewith, who ſhould declare to him all particularly, by word of Mouth, *p.* 307. As they had their *myſteria chartis non committenda*, in *Origens* phraſe; *(in Ep. ad Rom. c.* 2.) ſo theſe myſterious Prayers were to be kept as ſecret. To write them, ſo as ſtrangers might come to the ſight thereof, was not περεῖν ἔνδον, to uſe them as myſteries, no more then to recite them in their hearing. What they durſt not plainly pronounce, they would not venture to write; according to that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *ſtrom.* 1. Φοβέμενοι γεγραφειν ἃ χὴ λέγειν ἐφυλαξάμην By this means they might come to the knowledge of Aliens. *Ruffinus* puts this in the account he gives; why the Creed was at firſt not written, *(idcirco denique hæc non ſcribi chartulis atque membranis)* it was to be uſed as a watch-word, whereby they might know Friends from Foes, *(interrogatus ſymbolum, prodat, ſi ſit hoſtis an Socius.)* But if it had been written, and the Chriſtians got it by reading; the deſign might have been fruſtrated; for this way, the Infidels might have got the word, *hac ex lectione, quæ interdum pervenire etiam ad infideles ſolet.* Expoſ. in Symb. in Cypr. opera. p. 4.

That which they would have kept ſecret, they did not commit to Writing, for the view or uſe of others. Therefore *Baronius* ſayes, the way of drawing up their *literæ formatæ*, was not in Writing; becauſe they were concerned to keep it ſecret, leaſt it ſhould be counterfeited, *exiſtimamus ejuſmodi formulam nequaquam ab eis fuiſſe ſcripto traditam— ſed penes Epiſcopos Catholicos retentam eſſe ſecretam.* Ad an. 325. n. 44.

And there wants not direct evidence, that they had not any Prayers thus writ. *Baſil* ſays expreſly, the words they uſed in bleſſing the Elements, τὰ τῆ ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα were not written, they had them not ἐγγεγράφως; and that what they ſaid, both before and after the Conſecration, they had not from any Writing, ἀλλὰ μὴ περιέγραψω μὴ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλων ἔχοντα περὶ τὸ μυστήριον τὸν λόγον· οὐκ ἐκ ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες. As much he ſays of the Prayers in Baptiſm; (the words we ſhall have occaſion to produce hereafter): And ſo having reckoned the Prayers made in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; amongſt other things, which of old were kept ſecret and unwritten; he tells us the Antients were well inſtructed to reſerve them, as myſterious things, in great ſecrecy, καλῶς ὠκεῖνοι (οἱ πατέρες) διδαχθέντες πρὸς μυστήριον τὰ σεμνὰ σιωπῆ διαπύζεσθαι; and adds, thoſe adminiſtrations, at which the non-initiated might not be preſent; how could it be lawful, to expoſe the notice thereof by writing them? ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, τέτων πῶς ἂν ἔν γε εἰκὸς τὸν διδασκαλίαν δεταμβάνειν, *de Spir. Sancto. c.* κζ. *p.* 273. And all along theſe Prayers with the other *Arcana* there mentioned, are

are ἀπόῤῥητα, ἀδημοσίευτα, ἄγραφα, and *p.* 274. τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια (*d*).

Dionyſius (who, though he belyed his name, and would have been thought elder by ſome hundred of years then he was, yet hath credit in reporting the uſages of the times wherein he really lived) declaring why he, writing of other Rites and Practices of the Church, declined (*) to give an account in Writing concerning the Sacramental Prayers; (τελεστικὴς ἐπικλήσεις) aſſigns this Reaſon, ἐ θέμιτον ἐν γεγράφοις ἀφερμηνεύειν; it is not lawful to declare

(d) *Itaque ſilentium hoc quodcunque ſit non opponi voci ſed ſcriptioni; ut non ſit ſenſus, non debuiſſe pronuntiari: ſed tantum non debuiſſe ſcripto tradi.* Chamier, t. 4. l. 6. t. 8. Sect. 26.

Nolebat Baſilius eam traditionem θεμαμβύνειν ἐν γεγράμμασιν, atque id periculoſum exiſtimabat τῷ σιμνῷ τῆς μυστηρίων, Id. Sect. 29.

(*) *Cur reticuerit precationes quæ in myſteriis adhibentur,* ſayes his Tranſlator, διὰ τὶ πάντας ἤτοι τὰς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεις, ἢ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐσιώπησεν ſayes *Maximus* his Scholiaſt. *p.* 96. If it be ſaid, ἐν γεγραπῖς ἀφερμηνεύειν is to explain or write Commentaries on their Prayers, not ſimply to commit them to Writing. *Anſw.* If it were ſo, this proves as much what I alleadge him for, as the other. For this was unlawful, not as Commentaries, but as Written, it was ἐ θεμιτὸν, not to explain or render them intelligible, but to divulge or make them common, εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐξάγειν. Now they were expoſed to common view by being written, not by being intelligible; for intelligible they were in the moſt reſerved uſe of the Church; unleſs their Prayers were Riddles, and they offered to God they knew not what for a reaſonable ſervice.

Cum & hic, & alii apocryphorum ſcriptores, ſua ſoleant ad præſentis ſuo ævo eccleſiæ ritus, mores ac Sermonem effingere; plerique eo potiſſimum conſilio ſua figmenta ſub vetuſtiorum nomine edant, ut res ſui ſæculi novas falſo antiquitatis nomine conſtituant & confirment; clarum eſt etiam, ex iſtius generis apocryphis magnam utilitatem percipi poſſe, ſi diligenter obſervetur, quos illi mores, & quos ritus Eccleſiæ, & Chriſtianis illis tribuant de quibus loquuntur. Dallæus de lib. ſuppoſitis Dionyſ. &c. l. 2. p. 250.

them in Writing, being myſtical and ſecret, μυστικὰς ἕσας καὶ ἀπορρήτους, as *Pachymeres*, being ſecret, and not to be divulged. To deliver them in Writing would have been, ἐκ τῆς κρυφίου εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐξαγῆν, to bring them out of ſecrecy into common view, as he expreſſeth it afterward, *Hierarch. cul. fin.*

For the Latin Church, *Innocentius* 1. Biſhop of *Rome* may ſatisfie us. *Decentius* of *Eugubium* conſulting him about divers particulars concerning the Church Service; *Innocent* (*e*) in his Epiſtle in anſwer thereto, refers him, not to any written orders or preſcriptions, which may well be preſumed he would have done, if there had been any; but to what he had ſeen practiced at *Rome*, when he was there. But more particularly and expreſly, *Can.* 3. he determines that the Presbyter might anoint the Baptized with Chriſm, *non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo ſignare*; but not anoint their Foreheads with it; that being reſerved by him (and firſt by him) to Biſhops: But what words ſhould be uſed in that Rite, he might not tell him in writing; *verbo vero dicere non poſſum, ne magis prodere videar, quam ad conſultationem reſpondere*; leaſt he ſhould ſeem a Betrayer (of the Churches *Arcana*) rather then an Adviſer. Now if they were thus reſerved and cautious in a Baptiſmal Rite; as much or more caution would be thought requiſite as to the Lords Supper, which was antiently, in

(*e*) *Sæpe dilectionem tuam ad Urbem veniſſe, ac nobiſcum in eccleſia conveniſſe, & quam morem vel in conſecrandis myſteriis, vel in cæteris agendis arcanis teneat, cognoviſſe, non dubium eſt; quod ſufficere arbitrarer ad informationem eccleſiæ tuæ, vel reformationem —— niſi de aliquibus conſulendum nos eſſe dixiſſes.* Præfat. epiſt. ad Decentium, in Crab, Conc. tom. 1, p. 452.

their

their ſtile and account, *ſecretum* (*f*), and ὦ κρυφία. And indeed he ſhews himſelf no leſs reſerved about the Euchariſt; ſo we find him, *Cap.* 1. *Cum poſt omnia quæ aperire non debeo, pax ſit neceſſario indicenda*; Thoſe things, which paſt in the celebration of the Euchariſt, before the ſalutation of Peace (before which were all the Prayers) he might not open to him in Writing; and in reference to the whole (†), thus, towards the concluſion, *cap.* 8. *Reliqua vero quæ ſcribi fas non erat, quum adfueris, interrogati, poterimus edicere.* For the reſt, which it is not lawful to write, when thou art here, we may, being deſired, declare them. Now, if to write this in an Epiſtle to a particular perſon, who was not only μεμυημένῳ, but, as *Nyſſen* ſpeaks, μυσηρίων λανθανόντων μυσαγωγὸς (*de Chriſti Baptiſm.*) would have been no leſs then *prodere*, no better then treachery, a betraying the *arcana eccleſiæ*; what would it have been to have had them written for publick uſe, and expoſed in Common Prayer Books?

(*f*) *Innocentius negat ſe tunc temporis*, i. e. *cum ſcriberet ad Dicentium Eugubinum debere dicere*, Chamier, t. 4. l. 6. c. 8. Sect. 52. leaſt the writing might have come into the hands of the non-initiated. *Populus pars erat ἀμύητος, pars μεμυημένος, illis neque videre licebat, neque audire, & hi ſatis erant, ut non audiret omnia literis Innocentius committere*, Sect. 53, *Vid.* Bellar. Sect. 50.

(†) Cyrill προκατήχησις. If a Catechumen ask thee what the Teachers ſay, μηδὲν λέγε τῷ ἔξω, μυστήριον γὰρ σοὶ δίδωμι, &c.— *Ægroti vinum quandoque poſtulant; quod ſi intempeſtive detur* φρενῖτιν ἐργάζεται καὶ δύο κακὰ γίνεται καὶ ὁ νοσῶν ἀπόλλυται. καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς διαβάλλεται ὅτως ὁ κατηχούμενος ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ ἃ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι καὶ ὁ κατηχήσας φρενῖτιν οὐκ οἶδε γὰρ τί ἤκουσε καὶ ἐλέγχεται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἐκμυκτηρίζεται τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ ὁ πιστὸς ὡς ἀνόητος καταγέλαται, &c. Catech. 6. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔθος ἐθνικοῖς δογμάτων.

I ſup-

I ſuppoſe it is hereby manifeſt, that they were not wont, in thoſe times, to commit their Sacramental Prayers to ſuch Books or Writings; and I cannot apprehend, how the Prayers requiſite to make up a Liturgy for the Sacraments could be either preſcribed, or of common invariable uſe, in many Churches, if they were not ſo written.

Finally, ſince they thought themſelves obliged to keep the things we ſpeak of (*g*) ſecret, making account, the order of the Churches, and the reverence due to thoſe myſteries could not be otherwiſe ſecured; we cannot ſuppoſe they would take a courſe, which would make it next to impoſſible to conceal that, which they deemed themſelves ſo much concerned to keep ſecret.

Now, if their Prayers had been written out, for the uſe of many thouſands, or many hundred Churches, (indeed the ſuppoſition muſt be for all in the World; for many are ſuppoſed to have ſome or other, though not all the ſame) would not this have been a divulging of them, and a ready way to make them ἔκφορα τοῖς ἔξω? could all, of ſuch multitudes of Copies, be kept either from the

(*g*) Ἀγνωσία συμβότης ὅλη τελεσθῆναι. Syneſ. de provid. Sect. 2. p. 124.

Ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυσταγωγίοις ἐφύλαττον. Baſil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 27. p. 273. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος τὰ τῆς ἀγεγράφου παραδόσεως, ὡς μὴ καταμελετηθεῖσαν τῶν δογμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν, διὰ καταφρόνητον τοῖς πολλοῖς γίνεσθαι διὰ συνήθειαν. Id. ibid. Τοσούτων ὄντων ἀγεγράφων καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν ἐφ' ὧν εἰς τὸ τὰ δόγματα μυστήριον, Id. p. 274.

Lyſis the *Pythagorean* in *Syneſius*, Ep. 151. Τὸ γὰρ δημοσίᾳ φιλοσοφεῖν, μεγάλης εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦρξε τῆς θείων καταφρονήσεως, reproving his friend for publiſhing ſomething.

Hea-

Heathen, who were ſo inquiſitive after the κρύφια of the Chriſtians, as they uſed all means fair and foul (*h*) (ſometimes tortures, ſometimes odious miſinterpretations, ſometimes ſubtle inſinuations) to get the knowledge of them? Or from the *Catechumens*, paſſionately eager to be acquainted with theſe ſecrets, any way (*i*) though ſurreptitiouſly; as for other reaſons, ſo becauſe their acquaintance herewith would have advanced them immediately into the higher form of the *fideles*.

It is no way probable, theſe Prayers and their other ἐσωτέρικα could have been concealed, if they had been written for common uſe; and therefore, ſince they thought it their duty, to keep them ſe-

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(*h*) *Quo magis neceſſarium credidi ex duabus ancillis quæ miniſtræ dicebantur, quid eſſet veri per tormenta quæreret. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam ſuperſtitionem pravam & immodicam.* Plin. ep. Trajano. 97. Juſt. Martyr Apol. 1. p. 133.

Διόπερ μάτην μηδὲ νοήσας ἀκριβῶς τὸ κρύφιον τῆς Χριστιανισμοῦ διαβάλλῃ αὐτό! Origen contr. Celſ. l. 1. p. 8.

Maximus Madaurenſ. ep. ad Auguſtin.

Celſus in *Origen.* Τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας ὄντως εἶναι σύνδημα. l. 8. p. 339.

(*i*) Εἰ δή τις κατ' ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβοι, τοῦτον τὸν γοητεύσαντες μυήσωσι, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονηθῶσιν ὑφ' ἑλλήνων. Clem. conſtitut. l. 5. c 26. *fine.*

Quodam canone uno comperimus, ſi cui contigiſſet catechumeno, caſu aliquo, ac fortuito Sacrificiis intereſſe, aut oculis illa ſacra intueri, eum protinus ſacro fonte ablaudum fuiſſe. —— *A Deo magnum quoddam in ſe profectum beneficium arbitrabantur, ſi caſus quidam inſperatus tuliſſet, ut ea ſacrificia, non tam mentis, quam oculis corporis contemplarentur,* Albaſpin, obſerv. l. 2. c. 2. p. 206, 207. *Vid. notas in Can.* p. 206. *Timotheus Alexandrinus, in reſpon. Canon. interrogatus, ſi puellus Catechumenus, vel homo jam perfectus, dum fieret oblatio, opportune affuerit, ejuſque neſcius particeps factus ſit, quid debet de eo fieri? Reſpond. debet illuminari, a Deo enim vocatus eſt.* Ita vicef. de Bapt. rit. l. 2. c. 5.

cret;

cret; we may conclude, they had them not thus written, and conſequently they could have no preſcribed Liturgies for the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

And the impoſſibility of concealment, will be more evident, if Liturgies were to be not only in the hands of the ſeveral Miniſters, Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons; but alſo in the peoples hands; as it was neceſſary they ſhould be, unleſs they were quite other things, then either the modern now impoſed, or the pretended antient Liturgies; for then the people bear ſuch a part in the Prayers, as ſhews their direction by a Book neceſſary. And ſome part they had of old, as appears by *Cyril, Catech. myſtag.* 5. And *Chryſoſtom* in 2 *Cor. hom.* 18. *p.* 647. Though nothing ſo much, as in the written Liturgies, nor what they might not have by cuſtom without Book.

This may ſuffice for the Sacraments in general, to ſhew how far thoſe that adminiſtred them were from being confined to preſcribed Forms.

For the Euchariſt in particular, let us view the 23 Canon of the Third Council of *Carthage*: *Ut nemo in precibus, vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet, & cum ad altare aſſiſtitur, ſemper ad Patrem dirigetur oratio— & quaſcunque ſibi preces aliquis deſcribit, non eis utatur, niſi prius eas cum inſtructioribus Fratribus contulerit.* That no man, in Prayers, ſhall name, either the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they are at the Altar, the Prayer ſhall always be directed to the Father. And what Prayers ſoever any ſhall

ſhall copy out for himſelf, he ſhall not uſe them, unleſs he firſt debate them with his diſcreeter Brethren.

The middle Clauſe of this Canon evidently concerns the Euchariſtical Prayers; the firſt and laſt reſpect both theſe, and the Prayers alſo in other parts of the adminiſtrations; each of them make it plain, that in thoſe times, they were not under any reſtraint by impoſed Forms.

For the firſt. Thoſe, who in their Prayers named the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father, uſed not preſcribed Forms; for ſure the Church would not preſcribe what the Council forbids. And as they uſed none before, ſo theſe Fathers leave them at liberty, for the future, to uſe what they thought fit, only impoſing this on them, not to name the Father for the Son, *&c.*

For the next Clauſe. If no prayers were uſed, in the adminiſtration of this Sacrament, but what were preſcribed by the Church (and conſequently allowed by the Synod, as duely directed already) it was vain and ridiculous, to make ſuch an Order, *ut ſemper ad Patrem*, that the prayers be alwayes directed to the Father. This is clearly a reſtraint upon thoſe, who before had liberty, in celebrating this Ordinance, to addreſs their prayers to any Perſon of the Sacred Trinity; ordering that from henceforth they ſhould direct ſuch prayers only to the Father. And as it clearly ſuppoſes, they were neither limited nor directed, by any preſcribed Forms before; ſo it leaves them free, to uſe what prayers they judged meet, *cum ad altare aſſiſtitur*, pro-

provided that they were addreſſed only to the Father.

Yea the weaker and indiſcreeter ſort, of thoſe that officiated, are allowed, by the next Clauſe, to uſe what prayers they would any where make choice of, with this limitation only, that their more diſcreet Brethren ſhould firſt be conferred with about them. That of *Auguſtine*, who was a great part of the *African* Councils, at this time, *de Baptiſm. contra Donat. l. 6. c. 25. p. 568.* is the beſt Comment, which can be deſired, upon this paſſage. Having ſhewed, that divers of his Brethren had many things againſt the Faith, in prayers which they uſed in Sacramental adminiſtrations; he gives this account of it; *Multi irruunt in preces, non ſolum ab imperitis loquacibus, ſed etiam ab Hæreticis compoſitas; & per ignorantiæ ſimplicitatem, non eas valentes diſcernere, utuntur iis, arbitrantes quod bona ſint.* Many light upon Prayers, not only which are compoſed by unskilful Bablers, but alſo by Hereticks; and through the ſimplicity of their ignorance, not being able to diſcern, they uſe them, judging that they are good. Here we have perſons as fit to be confined to preſcribed Forms, as any we can expect to meet with; (ſuch as could neither make prayers themſelves, nor make tolerable choice of prayers made by others; being ſo ignorant, as they could not diſcern an Heretical prayer, when they met with it). Theſe are circumſtances, which might juſtifie the impoſition of ſet forms, if any could do it. And yet the *African* Fathers (*k*) ſaw

(*k*) Now ſince ſome, angry at this Canon, (for what reaſon appears not, unleſs becauſe it ſhews what they would not have ſeen) would ſhift it out of the *African* conſtitutions; let it

it be obſerved, that it was originally a Decree of the Council at *Hippo*, as appears by the brief of its Canons; in which it is the 23. in number of 41. *Crab. t.* 1. *p.* 433. A general Council this was, as we learn by that of *Poſſidonius*, *Vit. Auguſt. c.* 7. *Coram Epiſcopis, hoc illi jubentibus in plenarium totius Africæ Concilium Hippone agebant.* Vid. Auguſt. retract. lib. 1. cap. 17. And of ſuch eſteem, that, as *Baronius* tells us, *Ceteræ quæ poſtea in Africa celebratæ ſunt Synodi, ex Hipponenſi tanquam Archetypo quodam, complura ſuerint mutuatæ.* Ad ann. 393. n. 5.

And no *African* Council hath fuller approbation, nor that ſo frequently and ſolemnly declared. It was confirmed, by a full Council at *Carthage*, *Cæſario & Attico. Coſſ. an.* 397. So *Marianus Scotus* mentions it, *an.* 417. *Concilium Carthaginenſe, ubi Hipponenſis Concilii ſtatuta firmantur & inſeruntur.* And an abridgment (now ſpoken of) made of its decrees, that they might be the better remembered and obſerved, as the Fathers tell us in a Synodal Epiſtle; *breve vero ſtatutorum huic epiſtolæ ſubdi fecimus, ut compendio (quæ decreta ſunt) recenſentes, ſolicitius obſervari curemus*, in Crab. t. 1. p. 433. *Juſtel.* notæ in Cod. Afr. p. 48, 49. And of Fifty aſcribed to this (called Third) Council of *Carthage*, Thirty Nine are the ſame with thoſe of *Hippo*; and in both this Canon is the Twenty Three.

It was confirmed afterwards (the Canons thereof being recited) not only by the Votes, but the Subſcriptions of the Fathers in the general Council at *Miletis*, *an.* 402. *Arcad. & Honor.* 5. *Coſſ.* Together with the conſtitutions of the laſt mentioned Council of *Carthage*. *Vid. Crab. tom.* 1. *p.* 481, 509. *& Juſtell. Cod.* 218. *&c.*

It was finally ratified by Two Hundred and Seventeen Biſhops in a Council at *Carthage*, *an.* 419. and the approbations and confirmations of it forementioned are part of the *African* code, in which the title of *Can.* 34. is, *quod nihil de Hipponenſi Concilio ſit emendandum*, in Juſtel, p. 114. *Vid.* p. 217. *&c.*

no ſufficient reaſon, to preſcribe ſuch Forms to perſons ſo lamentably inſufficient. But, as they did make choice of what prayers they thought good before; ſo they leave them at liberty, to uſe what they made choice of; providing only, they ſhould firſt confer with their more able Brethren about them, that ſo what was therein erroneous might be amended

amended. And accordingly *Auguſtine*, in the ſame place, tells us, *multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, ſi doctioribus fuerint recitatæ*; the prayers of many are amended daily, if they be recited to the more Learned.

There had been no occaſion for any part of this Canon, if ſuch Liturgies, as we ſpeak of, had been in uſe; or if they had thought fit to have impoſed any. A few words would have ſerved the turn, inſtead of thoſe they multiply; (*Let no Prayers be uſed*, in Celebrating the Sacrament, but what the Church preſcribes). But the wiſdom of *Africa*, and the great *Auguſtine*, thought that courſe more adviſeable, which is utterly inconſiſtent with ſuch reſtraint, and which left the moſt inſufficient of their Miniſters at greater liberty; for ſuch evidently is the courſe they take in this Canon. The ſeverals of which, if they can be reconciled with any kind or degree of confinement to preſcribed Forms; then may we reconcile light and darkneſs.

That no Miniſters were limited to any preſcribed Forms, in the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, is manifeſt alſo, by the Seventieth Canon in the Collection called the *African* Council; which being the ſame in effect with that which paſſeth for the twelfth Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, runs thus.

Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, ſive præfationes, ſive commendationes, ſeu manus impoſitiones, ab omnibus celebrentur; nec aliæ omnino contra fidem proferantur; ſed quæcunque

Collect. in Cod. Can. 103. p. 281. *Vid.* Thornd. 244.

cum

cum prudentioribus fuerint collatæ dicantur. This alſo ſeemed good, that the Prayers which ſhall be allowed in a Council, whether Prefaces, or Commendations, or Impoſition of Hands, may be uſed by all; neither may any other, againſt the Faith be uſed; but all whatſoever, which ſhall be communicated with the more diſcreet, may be uſed. Where it is obſervable, that,

1. As much liberty in Praying is left to Miniſters by this Canon, as by that but now inſiſted on (tho' ſome, upon a conceit it is otherwiſe, have ſhewed more favour to this, then that): Thoſe that were ſo indiſcreet, as they could not diſcern an Heretical Prayer from another, and ſo gave occaſion of jealouſie, leaſt the Prayers they made choice of might have ſomething in them againſt the Faith; were not, by the Decree of that Council, to uſe ſuch Prayers, till they were approved by ſome prudent Brethren: By this Canon, they were not to uſe them, unleſs they were allowed, either by ſuch prudent perſons, or elſe by a Synod. So that, here they have more liberty, in the choice of their approvers, and no leſs upon any other account at all. I have ſhewed already, as much liberty is granted by the former Canon, as thoſe that are moſt for freedom in Prayer do deſire; no reſtraint in either, but upon perſons ſo inſufficient, as ſhould not be ſuffered to officiate at all, but in (*l*) extream neceſſities. In both, the prudent are allowed to uſe what Prayers, or mode

(*l*) Which ſeems to have been the condition of thoſe Churches, by the complaint of *Aurelius*, in a Council at *Carthage*, *Cum una cum Epiſcopis ſuis conſediſſet, adſtantibus Diaconis, Aurelius Epiſcopus dixit: Eccleſiarum Dei, per Africam conſtitutarum, neceſſitates mecum optime novit charitas veſtra, Sanctiſſimi Fra-*

tris—— tanta indigentia Clericorum eſt, multæque Eccleſiæ ita deſertæ ſunt, ut ne unum quidem Diaconum vel inliteratum (margin. lectorem) habere reperiantur. Nam de cæteris ſuperioribus gradibus, & officiis tacendum arbitror : Quia (ut Dixi) ſi miniſterium Diaconi facile non invenitur, multo magis ſuperiorum honorum invuiri non poſſe certiſſimum eſt, & quotidianos planctus diverſarum pæne emortuarum plebium jam non ſuſtinemus ; quibus niſi fuerit aliquando ſubventum, gravis nobis, & inexcuſabilis innumerabilium animarum pereuntium cauſa apud Deum manſura eſt. In Crab. Concil. tom. 1. p. 502, 503. in Cod. Juſtelli, p. 165. Aurel. in Con. Carth. an. 401. *Tantum autem inopiæ Clericorum ordinandorum in Africa patiuntur Eccleſiæ, ut quædam loca omnino deſerta ſunt.* In capitulo Conc. Hipponenſis, Crab. 4, 1. p. 434.

of praying they thought fit. For they who are eſteemed competent judges of others Prayers, are thereby preſumed fit to judge of their own.

2. No Prayers at all are forbidden, but ſuch as were againſt the Faith ; *nec aliæ omnino, contra fidem, proferantur* ; by which we may judge what Prayers both the Synod and the prudent would allow. They were not ſo ſcrupulous about words, if wholeſome, though not accurate ; they could better bear with ſome incommodious expreſſions or incongruities of ſpeech, if the prayer was affectionate, and had ſuch oratory as the great (*m*) God is pleaſed to liſten to, though the niceneſs and curioſity of a vainly critical ear would not be pleaſed

(*m*) Οὐ γὰρ γλώττης ζητῶ κάλλος ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλὰ ῥημάτων συνθήκην, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὄψιν. Chryſoſt. in Pſ. 8. p. 527, 524.

Baſil. Χρὴ τῶν προσευχῶν μὴ ἐν συλλαβαῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναλλὰξαι, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει μᾶλλον ψυχῆς, καὶ πρόθεσι τῆς κατ' ἀρετὴν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρεκτεινομένης.

Dii non tam accuratis adorantium precibus, quam innocentia & ſanctitate lætantur : gratiorque exiſtimatur, qui de labris eorum puram caſtamque mentem, quam qui meditatum carmen intuerit. Plin. in Panegyr. ad Trajan.

Προσάγει ὁ ῥήμασι ψιλοῖς, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεσι μᾶλλον χρηστοῖς κατευθύνεται. Iſidor. l. 1. ep. 386.

with

with it. *Noverint* (ſayes *Auguſtine*) *etiam non eſſe vocem ad aures Dei, niſi animi affectum, ita enim non irridebunt, ſi aliquos Antiſtites & miniſtros eccleſiæ forte animadverterint, vel cum barbariſmis vel ſolaciſmis Deum invocare.* De catechizand. rudibus c. 9. tom. 4. pars poſter. p. 330. Let them underſtand, that God attends not ſo much to the voice, as the inward affection; and ſo they will not jeer, if perhaps they obſerve ſome Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church do call upon God with ſome (were theſe preſcribed?) barbariſms and ſoleciſms.

3. Any Prayers that were approved, either by a Synod, or other diſcreet perſons, might be uſed, as in other Church adminiſtrations, (and in which of them were not (*n*) Impoſition of Hands uſed?) ſo particularly in the Lords Supper, (as the title of the

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(*n*) By Impoſition of Hands, here is meant, Prayers uſed when hands were impoſed; *manus autem impoſitio non ſicut Baptiſmus, repeti non poteſt. Quid eſt enim aliud niſi oratio ſuper hominem.* Auguſt. de Baptiſ. contra Donat. l. 3. c. 16. p. 496.

Hands were impoſed almoſt in all Prayers, and all Church Adminiſtrations; the Prayers in the firſt were thoſe for the Catechumens and Penitents, Impoſition of Hands at both.

On Catechumens. *Vincentius a Tiberi in Cipriani connexit. primo per manus impoſitionem in exorciſmo, ſecundo per Baptiſmi regenerationem, pervenire. Vid.* Auguſt. de Baptiſ. lib. 6. c. 44. Auguſtin, *nam & Catechumeni, ſecundum quendam modum ſuum, per ſignum Chriſti, & orationum manus impoſitionis puto ſanctificari,* de peccat. merit. l. 2. c. 26. tom. 1. pars 1. p. 875. *In exorciſmis impoſitio manuum,* Leo ep. 78. c. 1. *Vid.* Conc. Carth. 4. Can. 85,

On Penitents, in admiſſion to Penance; *Albaſpin. obſerv. p.* 230. 233, 397. *Vid. Cent.* 5. *p.* 665. In exerciſe of it while under penitence, μὴ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὰς κατηκουμένας, ἢ ἐν μετανοίᾳ τινὶ ἑστῶσας, καὶ τόπον ἀφωρισμένον ἔχειν χείρας, &c. Con. Laodic. c. 18. Con. Carth. 4. c. 80.

In Abſolution, or reconciling penitents. *Cypr. epiſt. Euſeb. l. 7. c. 2. Leo, non niſi per pœnitentiæ medium, & per impoſitionem epiſcopalis manus communionis recipiant unitatem,* epiſt. 77. cap. 6. *Reconcilientur per manus impoſitionem.* Con. Carth. 4. c. 76.

In Confirmation. *Tertull. Egreſſi de lavacro perunguimur benedicta unctione de priſtina diſciplina, dehinc manus imponitur. Cypr. Qui in eccleſia baptizantur præpoſitis eccleſiæ offeruntur, ut per noſtram orationem & manus impoſitionem Spiritum Sanctum conſequantur, epiſt. Joviano. Jerom, Ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per Preſbyteros & Diaconos baptiſati ſunt. Epiſcopus ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti manum impoſiturus excurrat, adv. Luciferian.*

In admiſſion of reduced Hereticks. *Leo, quod ſi ab Hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuiſſe conſtiterit, erga hunc nullatenus Sacramentum regenerationis iteretur; ſed hoc tantum, quod ibi defuit, conferatur, ut per epiſcopalem manus impoſitionem virtutem Sancti Spiritus conſequatur,* ep. 35. cap. 2. ep. 77. c. 7. Μόνῳ χρῶνται τῷ δὲ χεῖρον ὀνειδίσαι ἔχῃ. Dionyſ. in Euſeb. l. 7. c. 1.

In viſitation of ſick. *Si ſorte ab ægrotantibus ob hoc peterentur, ut pro iis in præſenti Deum rogaret, eiſque manus imponeret, ſine mora pergebat.* Poſſidon. vita Auguſtini. He tells afterward of one healed by his laying on hands, who had a viſion for it.

In celebrating Matrimony. *Laſt* applies that of *Clem. Alexand. pedagog. l. 3.* Τίνι προσβύτης ὀνησίσι χεῖρα; τίνα εὐλογήσῃ; ἢ τῷ γυναίκα κακοσμήσω, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας τεκνάς.

In Ordination, which needs no proof. *Sed vid.* Con. Carth. 4. can. 2. 3, 4.

In exorciſing the poſſeſſed. *Con. Carth. 4. can. 50. Omni die exorciſtæ energumenis manus imponant. Vid.* can. 7.

In Baptizing. *Clem. conſt. l. 7. c. 44. Vid. Victc. de Bapt. p. 614. 620.* and immediately before, *Dionyſ. Areop. eccl. Hier. c. 2. Victc. p. 581.* Hence baptiſm is called *impoſitio manus,* p. 8. *in abrenunciando ſub Antiſtitis mana,* Tertullian de corona mil. c. 3. *poſt confeſſionem Fidei.* Dionyſ. Areop. in Vicec. 325. eccleſ. Hierar. cap. 2.

Hence *Melitius* is, by the *Nicene* Council, forbidden the exerciſe of his Function, in theſe terms: Μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν μήτε χειροτονεῖν μήτε χειροθετεῖν φιλὸν ἢ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἰδίας κακοπραγίας. Synodica epiſt. Con. nic. in Theodoret, l. 1. c. 9.

Canon,

Canon, *de precibus ad altare dicendis*, ſhews) in what Mode, or by what Perſon ſoever they were made. And hence it follows, that either thoſe *African* Churches had no common form of Service at all; or elſe (which ſerves my purpoſe as well) they had none, but ſuch, as with the good leave of thoſe Fathers, might never have been uſed by any, either at the Lords Supper, or other parts of Worſhip; ſince any other Prayers, which either a Synod, or other prudent Miniſters ſhould approve, have the placet of this Council.

The inference is juſt, and cannot be evaded, unleſs any will ſay, by the *preces quæ probatæ fuerint* is meant a Liturgy eſtabliſhed in thoſe Churches. But that this would be an unreaſonable ſhift, the Canon it ſelf (a little further examined) will diſcover. For

1. An eſtabliſhed Liturgy (if there had been any ſuch) was uſed and approved already. But the Prayers, here mentioned, were not yet approved, nor were they to be uſed, till approved. So the brief of the Canon tells us, *ut preces & orationes compoſitæ, niſi probatæ fuerint in Concilio, non dicantur.* In Crab. Concil. tom. 1. p. 482. It is provided that the Service to be uſed, be firſt approved in the uſual Synod, ſays a Learned Advocate for ſuch Liturgies, upon this Canon. Then

2. What is meant by (*quæcunque*, what Prayers ſoever ſhall be debated with the more prudent, may be ſaid) in the laſt clauſe of the Decree.

1. If we underſtand by it the ſuppoſed Liturgy,

it is added vainly, and no tolerable account can be given why. And beſides, ſome prudent Brethren were to be conferred with about theſe Prayers, who were to approve them before they might be ſaid. (This is clearly and unqueſtionably the deſign of *quæcunque cum prudentioribus fuerint collatæ, dicantur.*) So that if hereby the *African* Liturgy be underſtood, it was ſuch a one, as was not yet allowed to be uſed, and poſſibly never might be. It was at the arbitrament of ſuch Judges, as thoſe, who were concerned to uſe them, would chooſe; whether it ſhould ever take place in the Church, or no, It might be diſuſed or aboliſhed, either in part, or wholly; as they thought fit. Such was the Liturgy of theſe Churches, no other eſtabliſhed, nor otherwiſe preſcribed, if the Canon here ſpeak of it.

But 2. If we underſtand hereby other Prayers, then ſuch as the imaginary Liturgy contained; then ſo much liberty is hereby granted, for the uſe of thoſe other Prayers, that the pretended Liturgy might never be uſed: For theſe Fathers authorize any other (with a *quæcunque*) which prudent Brethren might think fit for publick uſe. And ſo leave none under the reſtraint of any preſcribed Forms, either in other parts of Worſhip, or (*in precibus ad altare dicendis*) in the Euchariſtical Service (*o*).

(*o*) I am the more ſatisfied with this evidence of the *African* Councils, becauſe *Bellarmine* hath nothing to oppoſe here, but what renders it more unqueſtionable. *Chemnitius* had alleadged, *Con. Afric. can.* 70. *Milevit. c.* 12. to prove, *apud veteres ordini recitandi fuiſſe arbitrarium*; the order of celebrating the Euchariſt of old was arbitrary. *Hinc colligitur*, ſayes *Bellarmine*, *non fuiſſe antiquo tempore præſcriptum certum canonem orationum, qui omnes obligaret, ſed permiſſum fuiſſe, ut quiſque componeret preces, modo eæ analogæ eſſent fidei*, de miſſ. l. 2. c. 18. *Chem-*

Chemnitius thus, *Non enim conceptis verbis præſcripta fuit una quædam certa forma —— ſed liberum fuit uti quacunque forma, modo analoga eſſet fidei.* Examen pars 2. p. 358.

Bellarmin anſwers, *Canones Conciliorum eſtatorum non loquuntur de canone miſſæ; ſed de collectis, quæ ſemper fuerant multiplices & variæ*, Id. ibid, p. 817. Where he denyes not, but that thoſe *African* Decrees ſhew, that all other Prayers, even in the Euchariſt, were then arbitrary; only the Canon of the Maſs, ſayes he, they ſpeak not of. And no wonder, ſince the Canon, which he is ſo tender of, was not in being till near two hundred years after theſe Decrees were made. And there's not a ſyllable in them, for the excepting of any other, more then that. *Vid. Albaſpin. ante.*

In the 12th Canon of that Council, which paſſeth for the 2d of *Milevis*, for *cum prudentioribus collata*, we have a *prudentioribus tractata* (*p*). A phraſe of the ſame import, ſignifying the Prayers handled by the more prudent, *i. e.* debated, diſcourſed of, and ſo examined by them, in order to approbation (*q*), if they were found good, or to amendment, if otherwiſe. And this ſenſe of *tractata* agrees beſt, both with the other conſtitutions of thoſe *African* Churches, and their practice alſo declared to us by *Auguſtine*. But if any notwithſtanding will thereby underſtand the Prayers compoſed by the more prudent, *tractatus* being a Sermon in *Cyprian*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Optatus*, in *Thornd.* 176. and I will thence inferr, the more prudent had no more liberty in Praying then in

(*p*) *Scholium ad hunc locum in Cod. Pal.* Τεκτικῶς· σκοπικῶς. ἐξετικῶς δοκιμαστικῶς. *Gloſſa Baſilii a Carolo Lubbeo Cl. viro editæ*, τεκτικῶσαι σκοπῆσαι, ἐξετάσαι. τεκτόνων γὰρ οἱ λατῖνοι τὸ σκοπὸν, τὸ βούλημα καὶ τὸ ἐξέτασμα λέγουσι. Juſtell. obſ. in Cod. p. 8.

(*q*) Ὅπως τὸ πεπραγμα σκοπηθῇ, καὶ ἢ κυρωθῇ ἢ διορθωθῇ. Cod. Afr. p. 50.

Preaching. If I ſhould yield this, it would be no great diſadvantage. For, as they were not tyed to uſe Sermons compoſed by others, being much below thoſe Worthies, *orationes alieno formare ingenio*, to owe their publick Diſcourſes to anothers invention; ſo they had and took liberty to Preach, either *ex tempore*, or upon premeditation; and the former way commonly.

Jerom tells us many Homilies of *Origen* (r), which he Tranſlated, were Preached, delivered in the Church by the Author *ex tempore*. *Oratiunculas has 26. ex tempore in eccleſia peroravit Adamantius Senex.* Proluſ. in Hom. Orig. in Jeſ. nav. And *Ruffinus* ſpeaks the ſame of *Origens* Homilies upon *Geneſis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus* and *Romans*.

All that we have of *Cyrils* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* are extemporary Diſcourſes; as *Voſſius* obſerves, from the inſcription of them, *nonne cogitant catecheſes* ἀυθαδίους *ſive extemporales, ut inſcriptio indicat*? De Symb. p. 38.

And ſuch probably were thoſe, whoſe occaſion and ſubject was the ſame ſung before Sermon; as, to omit others, that of *Nazianzen*, in *Pſ.* 114.

(r) *Quæ ab* Origine, *in auditorio eccleſiæ ex tempore, non tam explanationis, quam ædificationis intentione perorata ſunt: ſicut in Homiliis, ſive in oratiunculis in* Geneſin, *&* in Exodum, *&c.* Ruff. perorat. in ep. ad Rom. p. 634.

In the Editions of *Johannis Grodicius*, the title is, *Catechiſes extemporanea ad illuminatos* 18. *&* *myſtagogicæ* 5. *Vid.* Riv. crit. *Pſ.* p. 258.

Chry-

Chrysostom, while Presbyter at *Antioch*, was advised by *Flavianus* the Bishop, to use his extemporary faculty in Preaching, προτρέψασθαι αὐτὸν αὐτοσχεδίως ὑφηγήσασθαι τῷ λαῷ, as one of the Writers of his Life relates it. And he complyed with *Flavianus* herein, πάντες θαυμάζουσι αὐτὸν—αὐτοσχεδίως ὁμιλοῦντα αὐτοῖς, they all saw him Preaching to them *ex tempore*. *Georg. Alexand. vita Chrysost. p.* 179. *c.*

And such were many of his Sermons at *Constantinople*, when he was Bishop there; particularly those upon the Epistles (*s*) to the *Ephesians*, and *Philippians*; as Sir *Hen. Savill*, (who deserves so well of him, and of the World for him) conceives; as also those upon both the Epistles to *Timothy*, and that to *Philemon*; and more then these he intimates to have seen, αὐτοσχεδιάσαντες.

Atticus, Presbyter at *Constantinople* in *Chrysostoms* time, and afterwards Bishop there, though far short of his Predecessors accomplishments; yet, by industry and practice, as *Socrates* tells us, he attained the faculty of delivering himself *ex tempore* to his Auditory; σὺν τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ παῤῥησίαν κτησάμενος ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου, καὶ παντευχωτέραν τῷ διδασκαλίαν ἴσχυε. *Hist. eccles. l.* 7. *cap.* 2. *p.* 733.

Jerom had no cure, and so left us no Sermons. But of divers of the pieces, which survive him, he

(*s*) *Homiliæ in Epistolas ad* Ephesios, Philip. *utramque ad*, Timotheum & Philemonem, διὰ τὸ αὐτοσχέδιον τῆς λέξεως, *Constantinopolitanis* (*accensendæ*) *notæ in* Chrysost. hom. 8. p. 227. *Commentarii certe mediocres sunt & ut plurimum, qualis illi in Epistolam ad* Ephesios, *concisi*, & αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες (*ut puto*). Id. ibid. p. 409.

was

was as eaſily and ſpeedily delivered, as the forementioned of their popular Diſcourſes. Of one piece of his, he tells us, *Epiſt.* 47. *Extemporalis* (*t*) *eſt dictatio*, it was dictated *ex tempore*, and faſter then it could be well taken in ſhort-hand. And his interpretation (as he calls it) of the three Books of *Solomon*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles* and *Eccleſiaſtes*, was (*u*) *tridui opus*; in which time, one would think the quickeſt Pen could ſcarce write out the Text.

Auguſtine alſo, not only in his Conflicts with Adverſaries, but alſo in his Sermons to the people, uſed *extemporali dictione*, as *Eraſmus* (*w*) obſerves, in whoſe judgment, he no where more appears admirable then in this; not that theſe Diſcourſes are more excellent then his more elaborate Works (as if he had been, what the Hiſtorian ſayes of *Tiberius*, *ex tempore quam a cura præſtantior*), but becauſe he could do better on a ſudden, then others

(*t*) *Extemporalis eſt dictatio, & tanta ad lumen lucernulæ facilitate profuſa, ut Notariorum manus lingua præcurreret, & ſigna ac furta verborum, volubilitas Sermonum obrueret*, Ep. 47.

(*u*) *Tridui opus nomini veſtro conſecravi, interpretationum videlicet trium Solomonis voluminum.* Id. præf. in Prov.

(*w*) *Plerumque per Notarios ex ore loquentis excepta ſunt, cujuſmodi fere ſunt enarrationes Scripturarum ad Populum, quas ipſe tractatus appellat, aut conflictationes cum Hereticis, quæ olim publicatas apud plebem fieri conſueverant. Nec alibi mihi videtur admirabilior. Quibus mediocre contigit ingenium, ſi lucubrandi curam adhibeatur, excudunt interdum aliquid non contemnendum. Cæterum in extemporali dictione, tantam adeſſe mentis perſpicaciam, tantam memoriæ præſentiam, tam paratum orationis copiam, non ſine perpetua quadam jucunditate, quis non movetur? Quis hoc hodie præſtare queat, vel ex iſtis qui ſtudium omne collocarunt in paranda dictionis facultate?* Eraſm. epiſt. *ad* Arch. Tolet. *præfixa operibus* Auguſtini.

(though

(though well accompliſhed) with time and ſtudy. One remarkable inſtance we have in *Poſſidonius* (*x*), who tells us in *Auguſtins* words, of *Firmus* a Manichee converted by ſuch a Diſcourſe, as he never deſigned before he had begun the Sermon, *Vit. Auguſt. c.* 15. And that ſeems another, which is intituled *concio ſuper geſtis cum Emerito Donat.*, being occaſioned by an acclamation of the people at the Aſſembly, *Tom.* 7. *pars* 1. *p.* 770.

And thoſe, who having much more work as Paſtors, did Preach ordinarily every day, and ſome days twice; yea ſometimes twice in a forenoon, and thrice in one day; (as Biſhops in thoſe and former times did) it cannot be thought, but many of their Sermons were born as ſoon as conceived. Such were their tractates: Nor was it then thought canting, to aſcribe ſuch Diſcourſes to the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit. *Nazianzen* being to diſcourſe of the Holy Ghoſt, prays for his aſſiſtance, that he might thereby be enabled for the expreſſions, Τὰ ἓν τῷ πνεύματι θ, παρέστω μοὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ διδότω λόγον, ὅσον κὴ βέλομαι· εἰ μὴ ὃ πᾶσιν. ἀλλ' ὅσθ γε τῷ καίρῳ σύμμετρθ. That I may open the myſteries of the Spirit, let me have the preſence of the Spirit, to give ſuch expreſſions as I deſire; or if not ſo much, yet what may be agreeable to the ſeaſon, *Orat.* 44. and ſays alſo, they both ſtudied and ſpoke, inſpired by it. The Spirit, as he adds, blowes where it liſteth, and inſpires whom, and where, and how

(*x*) *Cum propoſitæ quæſtionis latibras pertractarem, in alium Sermonis diſcurſum perrexi, atque ita non concluſa vel explicata quæſtione, diſputationem magis terminavi adverſum Manichæorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram, diſputans; quam de iis quæ aſſerere propoſueram.* Vit. Auguſt. c. 15.

much

much he will, ὅπως ἡμεῖς καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἐμπνεόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος; accordingly we are inſpired, both to meditate and ſpeak by the Spirit, *p.* 709.

Thus they did Preach, and thus they might Pray. *Nazianzen* having given an account how his Father prayed, in celebrating the Euchariſt, adds, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. *Orat.* 19. *p.* 305.

Anſwerably *Ambroſe* to *Forentianus*, Epiſt. 23. l. 4. *Docet autem Spiritus Chriſti (ſicut & Chriſtus) orare diſcipulos ſuos; quis autem poſt Chriſtum doceret, niſi Spiritus ejus, quem ipſe miſit ut doceret & dirigeret orationes noſtras? Oramus enim Spiritu, oramus & mente, ut bene poſſit mens orare, præcedit Spiritus, & deducit eam in viam rectam, ne obrepant carnalia, ne minora ac etiam majora viribus. Novit enim bonus Medicus quæ eſca cui apta ſit infirmitati, & cui tempori ad perfectum valetudinis; interdum opportunitas eſcæ ſanitatem reddit, quod ſi importune aliquis accipiet, aut non convenienter implicatur periculo. Ergo quia nos neſcimus quid oremus, & quomodo oporteat, poſtulat pro nobis Spiritus Sanctus.*

Their affections excited by the Spirit could help them to expreſſions without a Book, and did form their words in Prayer, as *Auguſtine* tells us, *Quamlibet alia (quam oramus dominica) verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis, vel præcedendo format ut clareat, vel conſequendo attendit ut creſcat.* Epiſt. 121. Probæ, 721. c. 12. And if their affections were not always ſo active, their judgment and invention, (which with divine aſſiſtance) ſerved them ſo well on a ſudden with expreſſions in Preaching, might much more eaſily help them to words in Praying.

Let

Let us ſhew this more particularly, in the ſeveral Prayers made in the celebration of the Euchariſt. It appears by the 18 Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, that in the latter end of the fourth Century three ſorts of Prayers were uſed in that adminiſtration, ὅτως, after the diſmiſſion of *Catechumens* and *Penitents*, τὰς δ' ἐχὰς ἀπὸ πασῶν γίνεσθαι τρεῖς; the firſt of theſe ſilently, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην, διὰ σιωπῆς; the other two pronounced, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καὶ τελευτὴν διὰ προσφωνήσεως. Of which two, one muſt be the Prayer for all ſorts in general, and the Church in particular, called συνάπτη καθολικὴ, the general Prayer; for that ſuch a Prayer was then made, there is evidence enough in Authors both of Greek and Latin Churches of that Age; the other muſt be the bleſſing of the Elements, called the Prayer of Conſecration; for this was never omitted, ſo *Optatus*, *Legitimum quod in Sacramentorum myſterio prætiri non poteſt. l. 2. adverſ. Parmenianum.*

Now for the firſt of theſe three, *viz.* That διὰ σιωπῆς, I find no mention of it elſewhere. Probably (*y*) it conſiſted only of ſome ſecret ejaculations, uſed by the faithful, while the offerings or the elements were preparing, to raiſe their Souls to a poſture fit for that moſt ſolemn and ſacred Ordinance. However, being a Mental Prayer, there was no place, and can be no pretence for preſcribing words and expreſſions for it. *Chryſoſtom* (*z*) directs to ſomething of this nature, *Hom.* 24. in 1 *Cor. p.* 399.

(*y*) Cyril in Junius nor. ad Clem. ep. p. 31.

(*z*) Ὅταν εὐχώμεθα, ἐνδιάθετοι πάντες γενώμεθα. Chryſ. in Eph. hom. 3. p. 778.

As

As to the ſecond, the general Prayer, that this was not made in a ſet and invariable form, appears by the Epiſtle of *Epiphanius* to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in *Jeromes* the 60. *p.* 466. There was ſome claſhing betwixt theſe two Biſhops; he of *Cyprus* being a great zealot againſt *Origen*; (as another *John* of *Conſtantinople* found by troubleſome experience). And he of *Jeruſalem* being an admirer of *Origen*, and under ſuſpicion to be tainted with his erroneous Opinions. *John* had heard, that *Epiphanius* ſhould intimate, in the Euchariſtical Prayers, that he by name was warped from the Faith; he complains of it; and that Epiſtle is *Epiphanius's* Anſwer and Apology, in reference to this and other particulars he was charged with. As to this, he admires, that any ſhould report, *quod in oratione quando offerimus ſacrificia Deo, ſoleamus pro te dicere, Domine præſta Johanni ut rectè credat.* This is the occaſion. And hereby it evidently appears, they uſed occaſional Petitions in this Prayer; for ſuch a Petition is that complained of; and the occaſion a ſuſpicion, that *John* was inclined to *Origens* errours. If ſuch liberty had never been uſed, to pray in this place as occaſion required, who would have been ſo impudent, as to raiſe ſuch a report; or ſo fooliſh as to affirm what none would believe, as being againſt the conſtant and unvariable cuſtom of thoſe that celebrated? Who can think, that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* would have brought ſuch a charge againſt *Epiphanius*, as would have appeared falſe to the World at firſt ſight, and might have been convicted of impudent ſlander, by the known unalterable uſage of Chriſtians? And why does not he, who deſigned to burthen his Adverſary as much as might be, charge him with tranſgreſſing the

the orders of the Church, to vent his particular ſpleen at a Chriſtian Biſhop? Is it not evident upon the whole, that there were no ſuch orders, confineing them to any unvariable form, in that adminiſtration; but that they might, and did, vary in their expreſſions, as there was occaſion.

This will yet further appear, by *Epiphanius's* anſwer. *Noli nos in tantum putare Ruſticos, ut hoc tam aperte dicere poterimus, &c.* He takes no notice, that what was objected, was inconſiſtent with the cuſtom and practice of that Church, and ſo groundleſly ſuggeſted. He appeales not to the known form, to which they were preciſely confined, refers him not to their Service Book for his ſatisfaction; which yet, if there had been any ſuch thing, a duller perſon then *Epiphanius* would have diſcovered, to have been the beſt way, to ſtop the mouth of his Accuſer. He denyes not, but they ordered their Prayers according to ſuch occaſions; but only tells him, they were not ſo ruſtical, as to do it ſo bluntly.

We have, in the Engliſh Service Book, a Prayer for the whole ſtate of Chriſts Church, pretended to be anſwerable to this Prayer we are upon; and indeed the only Prayer in the Book, that can pretend to any footſteps of Antiquity, ſo high as the fourth Age. Now ſuppoſe the Biſhop of *L.* ſhould be accuſed, in that prayer to prefer ſuch a petition for the Primate of *Ireland*, *Domine præſta I., ut rectè credat*; what courſe would the Biſhop take, to clear himſelf of this accuſation? Would not the dulleſt of his Chaplains appeal to the prayer it ſelf, being invariably uſed, as the beſt way to demonſtrate

ſtrate the charge was falſe; which yet the Biſhop of *Cyprus*, ſuppoſed to be juſt in the ſame circumſtances, did not offer at? Nay he denies not, *&c. ut ſupra.*

But let us proceed with his anſwer; *quando autem complemus orationem ſecundum ritum myſteriorum, & pro omnibus, & pro te quoque dicimus, cuſtodi illum qui prædicat veritatem. Vel certe ita, tu præſta Domine, & cuſtodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis; ſicut occaſio Sermonis ſe tulerit, & habuerit oratio conſequentiam:* He ſayes, they prayed for all Paſtors (all that preached) which ſhews it to be the general prayer, wherein they were wont ὑπὲρ πᾶσ ἱερέων καὶ πᾶσ ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. *Clem. Conſt. l. 2. c. 51. vid. Leſt* 190) and for him alſo; but in what expreſſions they did it, he is doubtful. It is but one article of this prayer he gives an account of. It is the ſame thing (preaching the truth) and the ſame perſons, (thoſe that preached) he is telling us they prayed for. And they prayed but for the ſame perſons and things once in the ſame prayer; and yet he cannot tell determinately what words they uſed, as appears evidently, by his disjunction *vel.*

Now *Epiphanius* celebrated the Euchariſt himſelf thrice a week, as he thought by Apoſtolical order; ſo he tells us, *expoſ. fidei*, p. 110. Συνάξεις δ' ὁπτὰ λάμβανε παχθεῖσαι οὕτω ὑπὸ πᾶσ ἀποστόλων, τετράδι, καὶ σαββάτῳ, καὶ κυριακῇ. *Vid. Albaſ.*

And if he had celebrated it in a ſet form, could he have been to ſeek for the words he uſed ſo often? ſince if either his Memory, or the Prayer-Book would

would have helped him; and one of them would have helpt him to the preciſe words, if they had then confined themſelves to any, and had had their Prayers either by heart or in a book; he would never have writ ſo doubtfully of them, when his buſineſs was to ſatisfie a captious Adverſary.

Would there be any need, for one who has the prayer for all ſtates by heart, or has the Service-Book before him, to expreſs by a diſtinction, what is there deſired for Biſhops, Paſtors and Curates? No more would *Epiphanius*, if the ſame mode of praying had been then in uſe.

To this prayer we may refer what we find of *Jerom*, who complains that in his time, the oblations (*a*) were publickly mentioned by the Deacon, and the names of the offerers recited, yea and the quantity of what they offered, and alſo of what they promiſed to offer, in *Ezek. l. 6. c. 18. Publice in eccleſia Diaconus recitat Offerentium nomina, tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicitus eſt.* Which he ſharply cenſures, *Placent ſibi ad plauſum Populi torquente eos Conſcientia*; they delight in the applauſe of the people, whiles their Conſcience torments them. The like complaint he makes in *Jer. c. 11. Nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina, & Redemptio peccatorum recitatur in laudem.* Now

(*a*) As *M. Th.* obſerves, it is called an Oblation (*viz.* the Elements, or the Offerings out of which they were choſen) according to the ſtile of the moſt antient Church Writers; not as conſecrated, but as preſented and offered (whether by the people, as the cuſtom was to him that miniſtred, or by him that miniſtred to God) to be conſecrated. *Surv, p.* 370.

who can believe, that a practice, worthy of ſo ſharp a rebuke, was publickly preſcribed; or if it had been preſcribed for common uſe, would have been ſo ſeverely cenſured? And therefore, what can be thought, but that thoſe, who officiated, were left to their liberty, to uſe what expreſſions they thought fit? If there had been a rule or preſcription, limiting them to any thing better; he would have taken notice of it; and of this uſage, as a tranſgreſſion of the eſtabliſhed order.

Pertinent to which is this paſſage of *Auguſtine*; *Auguſt. de Civit. l.* 22. *c.* 8. *Vir Tribunitius Heſperius qui apud nos eſt, habet in territorio Fuſſulenſi fundum Zabedi appellatum, ubi cum (afflictione animalium & ſervorum ſuorum) domum ſuam Spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperiſſet, rogavit noſtros (me abſente) Presbyteros, ut aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cujus orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi ſacrificium corporis Chriſti, orans, quantum potuit, ut ceſſaret illa vexatio; Deo protinus miſerante ceſſavit.* Bl. 286. *Vid.* in Aug. tom. 2. p. 686.

As alſo what *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *viz.* Ἐπὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων — παρεστήκοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχὰς. *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor. hom.* 41. *p.* 524. And elſewhere, Ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ θεῷ πλῶ πάντων εὐχὴν ἀναφέρων, and after, Ἐκεῖνος μὲν τρέμων ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐχὰς ἀναφέρει. *Chryſ. in Hebr. hom.* 15. *p.* 515.

Thoſe who had liberty, when they were offering ſupplications and praiſes, in the celebration of the Euchariſt, to pray as occaſion was offered, and to put up ſuch Petitions as they thought fit, upon par-

particular emergencies, were not confined to ſet forms in that adminiſtration.

Cyprians occaſional Praiſes and Prayers, *in ſacrificiis*, upon *Lucius* return from baniſhment; *Hic quoque in ſacrificiis atque orationibus noſtris, non ceſſantes, Deo Patri, & Chriſto filio ejus Domino noſtro, gratias agere, & orare pariter & petere, ut qui Perfectus eſt atque proficiens, cuſtodiat & perficiat in vobis confeſſionis veſtræ glorioſam Coronam, qui & ad hoc vos fortaſſe revocavit, ne gloria eſſet occulta, ſi foris eſſent confeſſionis veſtræ conſummata martyria.* Cypr. epiſt. l. 3. ep. 1. p. 53.

Add to this, what may be obſerved in *Ambroſe*, Epiſt. 33. *Ad Marcellinam ſororem.* He, whiles he was celebrating, about 387. *Spond. p. 2. (miſſam facere cœpi)* and imployed, as I ſuppoſe, in this Prayer (*) *(dum offero)* underſtanding what the *Arrians* were doing, and what had befallen *Caſtulus*; he orders the Prayer ſuitably to that occaſion; *Orare in ipſa oblatione Deum cœpi, ut ſubveniret.* [*Sequente die, erat autem dominica, poſt lectiones atque tractatum, dimiſſis catechumenis, ſymbolum aliquibus competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam baſilicis, illic nunciatum eſt mihi comperto, quod ad Portianam Baſilicam de palatio Decanos miſiſſent (Ariani) ut vela ſuſpenderent; Populi partem eo pergere. Ego tamen manſi in munere; miſſam facere cepi. Dum offero, raptum a Populo cognovi Caſtulum quendam, quem Presbyterum dicebant Ariani, orare in ipſa oblatione Deum cœpi, ut ſubveniret.*]

(*) The ſtile of this Prayer, in divers Liturgies, runs in the terms we offer. *Thorndike* 380.

He celebrating this Ordinance, and while he was praying before the diſtribution, *dum offero*, having notice what the *Arrians* were doing at another Church; he applyes himſelf in this Prayer to that particular occaſion; *Orare in ipſa oblatione Deum cœpi, ut ſubveniret*; which one, that had been fettered with preſcribed Forms, could not have liberty to do.

Such occaſional Petitions, with Thankſgivings of like nature, were uſed by *Cyprian*, *in ſacrificiis*, in theſe adminiſtrations, as appears (*Ep.* 4. *l.* 2. *Ad Moſem & Maximum*, *p.* 41.) Nor can this be underſtood, of ſome general expreſſion conſtantly uſed, comprizing *Lucius* with others; for the occaſion was particular, and ſuch as was not incident every day. And beſides, as it had been a vanity, to tell him of that, which he knew before, being well acquainted with the ſuppoſed common form. So it had been ſomething worſe, to ſpeak of that as a particular reſpect to him, when it no more reſpected him, then others.

Proceed we to the third prayer, *viz.* that for Bleſſing or Sanctifying the Elements, (called the prayer for Conſecration) which conſiſted much of Thankſgiving; and from thence this Sacrament, as is thought, came to be called the Euchariſt. It is of this, that *Juſtin Martyr* gives an account, in the words alleadged by others, ὁ προεστὼς ὁμοίως ἡ δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει; the Preſident, in like manner, as before, prays and gives thanks, according to his ability. This praying, according to his ability, or as he was able, plainly excludes all praying by Forms preſcribed, or compoſed for him

him by others, if he either had ability; (which none queſtion in the (*b*) Paſtors of thoſe times) to compoſe, or was able to conceive a prayer himſelf.

Many ſeveral ways are taken to evade this; no way of one, it ſeems, ſatisfying another amongſt themſelves; by which we may gueſs, what ſatisfaction they are like to give to others.

(*c*) One tells us, it is a complement of Civility, as when we ſay, *Ago gratias, non quas debeo, ſed quas poſſum*; or *quantas poſſum maximas*. But, not well pleaſed with this (it ſeems) himſelf, (at which we need not wonder) he tells us (which will no more pleaſe others) of ſome, (Learned too) who underſtand it of giving God thanks, with as loud a voice, as he is able; γέλως παῦτα ϗ λῆρος.

(*d*) Another brings an inſtance, where ὅση δύναμις is thought to be applyed to a Form; This is in *Gregory Nazianzen*, Στηλιτευτ. α. Ψέξε ὅση δυναμις τὸ ἐπινίκιον ἄδωμεν, ἐκείνῳ ᾠδήν, ἣν ποτε ἦσαν ὁ Ισραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ καταληφθεῖσιν, come let us, as we are able, ſing a Triumph, the Song which *Iſrael* ſometimes ſung, upon the overthrow of the *Egyptians* in the Red Sea. But here, by ἐκείνῳ ᾠδήν, the Song which *Iſrael* ſung, we need no more underſtand the very ſame words of that Song, then *Rev.* 15. 3. We are to underſtand the ſame by the Song of *Moſes*. Which Song of *Moſes*, thoſe

(*b*) Οἱ πότε μαθηταὶ ϗ νῦν διδασκάλων χρείαν ἔσχον. Chryſoſt. in Eph. hom. 6. p. 792.

(*c*) *Anonym.* p. 18. Uſe of dayly publick Prayers.

(*d*) Leſtr. Liturg. cap. 7. p. 218.

who had got the Victory over the Beaſt, are ſaid as expreſly to ſing, (ᾄδουσι τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ) : And yet, that which they ſing, conſiſts quite of other words, as appears, *ver.* 3. 4. And therefore well might *D. H.* give us leave, (as he doth) to conceive, by the Song of *Moſes*, another Song after that pattern. And ſo we may warrantably, by the Song, which *Iſrael* ſung, in *Nazianzen.*

The Learned Remonſtrant ſayes, in anſwer to this, that in *Juſtin Martyrs* time, they prayed according to their ability, and yet had a publick Liturgy, as we have, though ours pray according to their ability : (meaning, I ſuppoſe, before and after Sermon.) And ſo he grants (if I underſtand him) that they uſed no publick Liturgy, in celebrating or conſecrating the Euchariſt ; (for of the Prayer for ſanctifying the Elements the Holy Martyr ſpeaks it) ; and thereby yields all that we now alleadge it for, and in effect all that we deſire : Since it will be eaſie to ſatisfie the World, that, if they uſed no publick Liturgy, no preſcribed Forms of Prayer, in this part of Worſhip, they uſed none, in any. And ὁμοίως, in this very paſſage, rendered by themſelves in like manner as before ; gives us notice, that as they prayed here, ſo in like manner they prayed in the other parts of Worſhip, which he had given account of immediately before, in Baptiſm, in the Lords Supper, in all ὅση δύναμις, according to their ability, without any publick, any preſcribed Liturgy.

Anonym. p. 16.

Another,

Another, of great Learning, apprehending, it ſeems, that, to grant they prayed according to their ability, is to yield all; makes much difference betwixt κατὰ δύναμιν and ὅσην δύναμιν. And to ſhew it, explains the *Greek* by *Hebrew*, and *Juſtin Martyr* by *Maimonides*. I ſuppoſe, it will ſatisfie others as well, to have an account of this phraſe, by the *Greek* Gloſſaries, or *Juſtin Martyr* himſelf. How much difference there is between them, *Phavorinus* ſhews, when he explains ὅσην δύναμιν by κατὰ δύναμιν. His words are Συλλαβὴ ὅση δύναμις· ἐκλείπει, τοῦτ', ὅση μοὶ ἰσχὺς· ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ταῦτα λέγεται, τὰ δ' ἐλλῖν, συλλαβὴ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὅση σοὶ ἔξεστιν. So that, according to him, ὅση δύναμις is a defective phraſe, which, when it is repreſented intire, muſt be expreſſed by κατὰ δύναμιν. Let me add that, in κατὰ δύναμιν, likewiſe ὅση is to be underſtood, when not expreſſed, and all our abilities (as to parts, though not to degrees) there included; for when any of our abilities, for a work we undertake, is not exerciſed, and ſo contributes not to it, we do it not κατὰ δύναμιν. Anſwerably, *Chryſoſtome* uſes κατὰ δύναμιν and ὅσον ἔχει δύναμιν, *page* 206. as phraſes equivalent, in *Gen. hom.* 27. *ver.* 20. And elſewhere in theſe words, Μαθητὴν τὴν κεκρυμμένην σοφίαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ πνεύματος διεξαγόμενον κατὰ δύναμιν ἡμετέραν, οὐχ ὅση ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἔφικτον. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 759. *edit. Savil.* What he had expreſſed by κατὰ δύναμιν, he explains by ὅσον ἡμῖν ἔφικτον. And ſo they differ, no more then the Latin phraſes, *pro viribus*, and *pro facultate*; by which *Camerarius* and *Donnæus* render κατὰ δύναμιν, and *quantum poſſum*, or *quantum in me eſt*, by which others render ὅση δύναμις.

But *Maimonides* may make the difference evident: Let us ſee how. He tells us of one proceeding in diſcourſes, tending to the humiliation of the people, according to his ability, until he humble their hearts, and they return perfectly.

It is ſuppoſed, that if *Juſtin Martyr* had been to expreſs this, he would have uſed the phraſe κατὰ δύναμιν not ὅση δύναμις: (*Rambams* Preacher, making uſe of his own abilities and expreſſions in his Diſcourſes, which the former phraſe, it ſeems, may include, but not the latter). Well, but *J. Martyr*, in this very Apology, hath a paſſage juſt parallel to this; where he ſpeaks of the diſcourſes the Chriſtians uſed, tending to the Converſion of the Heathen; and they proceeded therein ὅση δύναμις, not κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ διὰ λόγου ἦν καὶ σχήματος τῆς φαινομένου ὅση δύναμις σπουδάζοντες ὑμᾶς ἀναδύνοι διδάσκειν λοιπὸν ὄντες, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπιστῆτε. Therefore, both by the word and the figure of him that appeared, we exhorting you, as we are able, know we are unaccountable for the future, although you believe not. So *Juſtin Martyrs* ὅση δύναμις, is no other, then our Authors κατὰ δύναμιν; and the σχῆσις in him prayed, juſt as he in *Maimonides* preached; uſing his own abilities, invention, expreſſions in praying, as the other did in preaching. And thus much our Author muſt yield, if he will ſtand to *Juſtin Martyrs*, or his own Diſcourſe.

Apol. 2. *p.* 157.

And others in reaſon will be content, that the Eminent *Martyr* ſhall ſhew us his own meaning. The Chriſtians, in thoſe Diſcourſes (he mentions) where-

whereby they endeavoured to bring the Heathen to the Faith of Chriſt, uſed their judgment, their invention, and certainly their own expreſſions. They imployed all their abilities in this work; and this was ὅση δύναμις ἐσηγήσαντο; by which we may underſtand, if we will admit him to explain himſelf, what he means, by ἀχὰς ὅση δύναμις ἀναπέμψαι. And how well, they repreſent his meaning, who will have him to intend hereby, neither leſs nor more, then earneſtneſs in praying.

Hereby I ſuppoſe it clear enough, notwithſtanding all endeavours to obſcure it; that the principal Prayer, in the moſt ſolemn part of publick Worſhip, in thoſe times, was no preſcribed Form. Nor was it any ſuch Form Two Hundred Years after, as appears by that of *Baſil*; who tells us plainly (in the latter end of the fourth Age) that no words of ſuch a Prayer were left in writing by any Holy Men. Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα διὰ τί ἀναδήκει τὸ ἄρτος τῆς ἀχαριστίας, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, τίνες τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπαν. Thus rendered by *Eraſmus*; *Invocationis verba, cum conficitur panis Euchariſtiæ, & poculum benedictionis, quis Sanctorum in ſcripto nobis reliquit?* Which of the Holy Men have left us in Writing the words of a Prayer, at the Conſecration of the Euchariſtical Bread, and the Cup of Bleſſing (*e*)? By this it is evident, they were ſo far from having any preſcribed Forms, in Conſecrating the Euchariſt, as they had not ſo much as the words of any ſuch Form in Writing,

(*e*) Biſhop *Jewels* Apology, *p.* 60. *Baſil* beſought God, that he might celebrate with Prayers of his own making.

to

to his time, who lived, according to *Petavius*, till 379.

It will be eaſily granted, by the Zealots for preſcribed adminiſtrations, that there never was any Liturgy, wherein there was not a Form for Conſecration (ſince they think any part of a Liturgy may be more tolerably omitted then this; and thoſe that officiate had better be left at liberty any where, then here) and they will ſhew us ſuch a Form, in all Liturgies extant, Modern or Antient, or pretended to be Antient) therefore they cannot reaſonably deny, while there were no ſuch Forms in Writing, there were no ſuch Liturgies; and ſo none in *Baſils* time.

By this alſo we may diſcern, what ſentence ought to be paſſed upon thoſe Liturgies, which go under the names, of *Peter*, *Mark*, *James*, *Clemens* and *Baſil* himſelf too. In them, the myſteries are clearly deſcribed; which, he ſayes, the Ancients thought themſelves highly concerned to keep ſecret. And there we have (as a moſt neceſſary part of them) the Form of Conſecration in Writing; which, he ſayes, no Holy Man ever left in Writing.

In that, aſcribed to him, the forgery is more impudent. He having declared his high approbation of the Antients practice, in not committing any ſuch thing to Writing; and upon ſuch reaſons, as obliged himſelf, as much as any, not to run counter to them herein. He, with them, thought the σεμνὸν τῆς μυσηείας, the reverence due to theſe myſteries

ſteries hereby ſecured; and another courſe the way to render them deſpicable, δι' εὐκαταφρονητα; as is evident by his diſcourſe, in the place alleadged; καλῶς ἀυτους διδασκωμεν τὴν μυστικὴν τα σημεια σιωπῆ διασῳζεσθαι ἐν τῇ κεκρυμμενῃ καὶ ἀφθεγκτῳ τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς μυστηριοις ἐφυλαττον.

Their Prayers at the Euchariſt were long ordinarily, ſo in *Juſtin Martyrs* time, δι' ὅλης ἡμῶν τῆς καταζιωθεως τύπῳ παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντι πολὺ ποιεῖται *Apol.* 2. *p.* 162. Not like thoſe of the Monks in *Egypt. Pauli* 300 a day ῥηϊδες forheads. *Soz.* 397. *Moytic* 50. *p.* 396. So in *Chryſoſtom*, Ἔστω γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πολὺ ἐμπειρίαν ὄντα πολὺ πονεῖται — ἵνα ὁ νοῦς ἁπτησῆται τῇ ὑσίᾳ. *De Sacerd. orat.* 3. *p.* 16. And elſewhere he ſays, it required a greater confidence then *Moſes* and *Helias* had, to pray in this miniſtration, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἱκετείαν ἀρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, *p.* 46. And why ſuch boldneſs was needful, if they had the Prayer in a Book before them, I apprehend not. However, thoſe that were uſually large in this Prayer, were ſometimes brief, when there was occaſion; and performed it, ὀλίγαις ῥήμασι; which is a clear evidence, they were not tyed to a ſet Form, but were left to uſe their diſcretion; and ordered their Prayer over the Elements, ſo as to be briefer or more inlarged therein, according as they were diſpoſed, and as occaſion required.

Marcion imitated the Chriſtians herein, Ποιεῖται ὅτιν κεκραμένα προσφορὰν δ' εὐχαριστῆ, καὶ ὁποτέρου ἐκτείνων ἢ λόγον ἢ ἐπικλήσεως, &c. *Irenæus l.* 1. *c.* 9. *in Epipha. l.* 1. *tom.* 3. *Hier.* 34.

This

This Prayer, of old, conſiſted much of Thanksgiving. *Chryſoſtom* gives an account of ſome particulars, for which they gave thanks. And having mentioned as many, or more, then are to be found in any Euchariſtical Form, either in the Maſs Book, or our Service Book, adds, *cum his & cæteris hujuſmodi gratiarum actionibus accedimus, in* 1 *ad Corinth. Homil.* 24. implying, they were not confined to thoſe ſpecified, but inlarged themſelves in ſuch like particulars according to diſcretion. But I inſiſt not on this, the former evidence is ſufficient.

Ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες ὕπνῳ προσίμεν, p. 396. After he had ſaid, Εὐχαριστοῦντες ὅτι ἡ πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῆ ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὅτι μαχεῖν ὄντες ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν ὅτι ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας καὶ ἀδίκως ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ ἀδίκους ἑαυτῶ καταστήσαι καὶ συγκληρονόμους

Gregory Biſhop of *Nazianzen*, Father of *Gregory* called the Divine, having been much weakened by a Feaver, but very deſirous to partake of the Lords Supper; by the help of his Maid, he gets to Church, [*Narrat* Nazianzenus, *Patrem ſuum Sacerdotem ardentiſſima & diuturna febri exhauſtum, ab ancilla aliquando Synaxis tempore deductum manu in cœtum eccleſiaſticum, in quo pro more cænam, ſed pauciſſimis & quibus tum per morbum potuit, verbis conſecratam, aliis & diſtribuerit, & ex ea participarit ipſe quoque. Reverſum vero ad lectum, ciboque parumper ac ſomno refectum melius ſtatim habuiſſe, &c.* Orat. in funere patris, cent. 4. p. 421.] and there τὰς περιῳδὰς χεῖρας εἰς ἄχλυν χρωτὸς συντελεῖ προσώπου, ἢ προστελεῖ τῶ λαῶ τὰ μυστήρια. ῥήμασι μὲν ὀλίγοις καὶ ὅσοις ἔδυνεν, διανοίᾳ δ' οἷς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ λίαν πλεωπάτη

πάντα — ᾧ ταῦτα πάρεστιν ἀκριβῶς τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἀντὶ μὲν γνησιώτερα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ ὁράσθαι. Εἶτα ἐπιλείπων τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα ὅπως ὡς σύνηθες ᾖ τῷ λαῷ κατολόγησας (*f*); lifting up his feeble hands in Prayer, he chearfully celebrates the myſteries, with and for the people, with very few words, ſuch as his weakneſs would admit; but (as ſeems to me) with a moſt vigorous ſoul; and afterwards, ᾧ ταῦτα πάρεστιν ἀκριβῶς, &c. And this he had from the Holy Ghoſt, perceived by him, but not diſcerned by thoſe that were preſent: Where, if ταῦτα refer to ῥήματα, which ſeems moſt congruous, he tells us thoſe few words, wherewith he celebrated, were ſuggeſted to him by the Holy Ghoſt; and ſo neither by a Book, nor by his Memory. But I need not inſiſt on that. By the former expreſſion it is evident, that he was briefer, and uſed fewer words in his Prayers, at this time, before the adminiſtration, then he was wont to do, when in Health. Now they that, in celebrating this Ordinance, and Bleſſing the Elements, do pray ſometimes longer, ſometimes ſhorter, as their ſtrength will ſerve them, are far from confinement to a certain number of words, which is the thraldom of preſcribed Forms.

For further evidence, that theſe, and other parts of the Euchariſtical adminiſtration, were not under the reſtraint of preſcribed orders, in the beginning of the fifth Age; let that be obſerved, which we meet with in the Epiſtle of *Innocent* the 1. to *De-*

(*f*) *Naz. orat. in laudem Patris Gregor.* p. 305. Afterwards uttering the words of Thanksgiving, as was uſual, and Bleſſing the People.

centius,

centius, written *an.* 416. to ſatisfie him (who was Biſhop of *Eugubium*) concerning many ſeverals, which were then, it ſeems, not determined, but under conſultation and inquiry; ſo *c.* 8. *Sanè quia de hoc, ſicuti de cæteris conſulere voluit dilectio tua.*

Particularly, it was inquired, what place in the Euchariſtical office ſhould be aſſigned to the *oſculum pacis*; whether *ante*, or *poſt confecta myſteria*, before or after the Conſecration of the Elements. Which *Innocent* ſatisfies, not by wondering that he took no notice of the preſcribed order, though (ſince he was a Biſhop in his Precinct, and calls *Decentius* Clergy *Clericos noſtros*, *c.* 8.) he might juſtly have wondered at it, if there had been any ſuch preſcript. But by reaſon, *cap.* 1. *Pacis oſculum dandum eſt poſt confecta myſteria, ut conſtat populum ad omnia, quæ in myſteriis aguntur, atque in eccleſia celebrantur, præbuiſſe conſenſum, ac finita eſſe pacis concludentis ſignaculo demonſtrantur.*

It was alſo matter of conſultation and inquiry, whether the names of the Offerers ſhould be recited before or after Prayer, made over the oblation, *cap.* 2. Whereby it appears there was not then, ſo much as any common authorized direction for the order and method of their Euchariſtical adminiſtration; (much leſs any preſcribed Forms or Modes; for if they had not ſo much as a directory, how far were they from ſuch a Liturgy as is now contended for?) If *Decentius* had known any ſuch eſtabliſhed order, his enquiry had been needleſs, and ſo had *Innocents* determination been. He might have referred him to the preſcribed order, as our Pre-

Prelates would have done in the like caſe; and ſaid to him, as he does to two other Biſhops, *ep.* 5. in *Crab.* 410. concerning the Canons of the Church, *Eccleſiaſticorum Canonum norma nulli debet eſſe incognita Sacerdoti, quia neſciri hoc a Pontifice ſatis eſt indecorum; maxime quia a Laicis religioſis viris & ſciatur, & cuſtodienda eſſe ducatur:* Yea, and judged him unworthy to be a Prelate in his Province, who would make a queſtion of that, which the Wiſdom and Authority of the Church had already determined. But there is neither mention of, nor reference to any ſuch order, nor any reſentment of his calling it in queſtion. He tells him indeed, it was ſuperfluous; not becauſe it was already determined, but becauſe his own prudence might diſcern, what was moſt convenient to be done in the caſe; *quod ſuperfluum ſit, & ipſe per tuam prudentiam recognoſcis.*

In the concluſion, he hopes, that in theſe, and other ſuch like particulars, which, if determined, amount to no more then the directive part, or Rubrick of a Liturgy; *Decentius* may inſtruct, and give ſome order to others, which they may imitate, not ſtrictly conform to; *Erit autem Domini potentia, id procurare, ut tuam eccleſiam, & Clericos noſtros, qui ſub tuo Pontificio divinis famulantur officiis, bene inſtituas, & aliis formam tribuas, quam debeant imitari.*

Where it is obſervable; 1. At this time, there was no ſetled Form or Order in that Church. 2. The Order he hopes for, if it comprize all the particulars in the Epiſtle, comes to no more then a Di-

Direction or Rubrick. And 3. This deſigned for imitation, not for ſtrict Conformity.

And what liberty there was in thoſe times; and how far they were from uniformity, appears by the beginning of that Epiſtle. *Si inſtituta Eccleſiaſtica, ut ſunt a beatis Apoſtolis tradita, integra vellent ſervare Domini Sacerdotes, nulla diverſitas, nulla varietas, in ipſis ordinibus & conſecrationibus haberetur. Sed dum unuſquiſque, non quod traditum eſt, ſed quod ſibi viſum fuerit, hoc æſtimat eſſe tenendum; inde diverſa in diverſis locis vel eccleſiis aut teneri aut celebrari videntur*; in Crab, tom. 1. p. 452. While every one judges, that is to be kept, not which is delivered, but which ſeems good to him; here are ſeen various tenets, and modes of Celebrating, in the ſeveral places or Churches. He ſpeaks as if there were as many ways of Celebrating, *An.* 416, (when this Epiſtle was writ,) as there were places or Churches; and this variety, *in Ordinibus & Conſecrationibus*, which are his words immediately before, and is (if I underſtand him) both in Ordering their Worſhip, and Conſecrating the Myſteries.

It ſeems, this pleaſed not *Innocent*; the character given him by *Eraſmus* makes that no wonder; *Sævus potius, quam eruditus, & ad damnandum potius, quam docendum inſtructior*; in Epiſt. 96. in 2 tom. Auguſt. Thoſe of leaſt worth, when they get power, are uſually moſt narrow ſpirited and imperious.

As

As for the *traditum eſt*, which he oppoſes; if he mean by it any Apoſtolical Tradition; he alleadges it with the ſame fidelity, as he mentions Antient Tradition for the *Roman* Supremacy, *Epiſt.* 91. to the *African* Fathers; and as his next Succeſſors, *Zoſimus*, *Boniface*, *Caleſtine*, alleadged a Canon of Nice to a Council at *Carthage*, for the ſame purpoſe.

Object. You take notice of *traditum eſt*, which was ſomething that ought to have been obſerved, and would have left no ſuch liberty.

Anſwer. Whatever be meant by his *traditum eſt*; it was no authoritative general order, injoyning all to uſe the ſame words in Prayer; for if there had been any ſuch thing, it would not have been univerſally diſregarded.

If there had been any thing delivered, againſt ſuch freedom in Celebrating, by Antient or Modern Authors, worthy of obſervance; it would have been taken notice of, by ſome of thoſe who uſed this liberty, as well as by *Innocent*; who had many contemporaries not inferiour to himſelf: Elſe that Age was very unhappy; ſince nothing of eminency appeared in him, (nor in the *Roman* Biſhops generally of thoſe times) but his great place, if that impartial Critick miſtake him not, *& dictionem, & ingenium, & eruditionem tali dignam Præſule deſiderare cogimur.*

Yet he, ambitious to have all dance after the *Roman* Pipe, though as yet it gave herein no certain ſound; (and indeed their ſtickling about this and the Supremacy, was to little purpoſe for one Age or two) makes that matter of complaint, which was far from being ſo with his betters, both then and in better times. (*Vid.* Cypr.) But however he reſented it; he hath left us evidence, that in his dayes, as elſewhere, ſo in *Italy*, every one held his own way, even *in* (*g*) *Conſecrationibus*, and Conſecrated as he thought fit. And in fine, there is reaſon to think, this Biſhop was not ſo much offended, becauſe they did not uſe the ſame words in Celebrating and

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(*g*) *Qua in parte nemini verecundia & modeſtia noſtra præjudicat, quo minus unuſquiſque, quod voluerit, ſentiat, & quod ſenſerit, faciat.——Oſtendi quid nos, quantum in nobis eſt, ſentiamus: Nemini præſcribentes, quo minus ſtatuat, quod putat unuſquiſque præpoſitus, actus ſui rationem Domino redditurus.* Cypr. ad magn. ep. 7. l. 4. *Hæc tibi breviter——reſcripſimus, nemini præſcribentes aut prejudicantes, quo minus unuſquiſque Epiſcoporum quod putaverit faciat, habens arbitrii ſui liberam facultatem,* Ep. ad Jubalan. p. 227.

Auguſtine, without expreſſing any offence, ſays the varieties were more then could be well known. *Auguſt. retract. l.* 2. *c.* 20.

Libri duo, quorum eſt titulus, ad inquiſitiones Januarii, multa de Sacramentis continent diſputata, ſive quæ univerſaliter, ſive quæ particulariter, i. e. *Non peræque in omnibus locis ſervat Eccleſia, nec tamen commemorari omnia potuerant.*

Si inſtituta Eccleſiaſtica, ut ſunt a beatis Apoſtolis tradita integra vellent ſervare Domini Sacerdotes, nulla diverſitas, nulla varietas, in ipſis Ordinibus & Conſecrationibus haberetur. Vid. Præf. ad Conc. 233.

Conſe-

Conſecrating; as becauſe they did not uſe the ſame Rites and Order; for in theſe, that Epiſtle of his is moſt concerned.

And further, I can ſee no probability, that at *Rome* it ſelf, there was any ſetled, (much leſs impoſed) Form of Conſecration, before (*h*) that mentioned by *Gregory*, *lib.* 7. *epiſt.* For if any of the former Biſhops had left behind them any ſuch Prayer, and commended it to be uſed by that Church for this purpoſe; it is not credible, that it would have been recited for the novel compoſition of ſuch an obſcure perſon, of whom we can know nothing by knowing his name. *Gregory* tells us, that Prayer, (or Canon, as he alſo calls it) was made by *Scholaſticus*, who, as it is moſt probable, (*i*) lived about his own time. Some Writers of the Popes Lives, and others,

(*h*) *Ordo Romanus continet haud dubie ordinem a B.* Gregorio *inſtitutum: Nam ut Author eſt* Joannes Diaconus, *codicem Gelaſianum, quem de miſſarum ſolemnibus compoſuerat* Gregorius, *multa ſubtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla adjiciens, in unius libri volumen redegit, qui ordo poſtea per univerſum fere occidentem obtinuit.* Caſſand. Liturgic. Præfa. ad ord. Rom. p. 92.

In neither of thoſe orders, which *Caſſander* gives us for the antient *Roman* order, the ſhorter or longer, are there any preſcribed Forms of Prayer; but only a bare relation of the order wherein they proceeded.

(*i*) *Bellarmin* denies not, but it is probable, that *Scholaſticus* then lived, *utraque probabilis*, de miſſ. l. 2. c. 19. p. 819. Gregorii *igitur ætate, circa An.* 590. *vixit conſarcinator ille Canonis.* Chemnit. exam. pars 2. p. 358. *Si vero* Gregorius *per* Scholaſticum *intelligat certum aliquem*

hominum, qui ætate ipſius vixerit, ut adverſarii contendant. Bellarm. de miſſ. l. 2. c. 19. p. 819.

The benediction, it ſeems to be in *Auguſtin*, *Epiſt.* 59. *p. Vid. pag. alttram.*

Vid. Thornd. ſerv. 384. 385.

aſcribe indeed ſeveral parcels of that Canon to Biſhops before *Gregories* dayes; one to *Alexander*, another to *Siricius*, another to *Leo*, (nor find I more) but whether they knew better, at ſuch a diſtance, or ought to have more credit then *Gregory*, is eaſie to determine. And if thoſe parcels be examined, it will appear, they are nothing to the purpoſe, or elſe later then the ſixth Age. This form of *Scholaſticus*, *Gregory* having (*k*) altered it as he thought fit, and added the Lords Prayer to it; (which, though it were uſed no where publickly, but in the Euchariſtical Office, in any place; yet not in that it ſeems, at *Rome*, till he introduced it) made uſe of it in that Church; where, by cuſtom, it came to be ſetled, but not by rule, in his time at leaſt. For, that he neither impoſed it, nor had a mind to impoſe it, is apparent, by what he writes to our *Auſtin*; who, having men-

(*k*) *Orationem autem dominicam idcirco mox poſt precem dicimus, quia mos Apoſtolorum fuit, ut ad ipſam ſolummodo orationem, oblationis hoſtiam conſecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens viſum eſt: ut precem, quam Scholaſticus compoſuerat; ſuper oblationem diceremus; & ipſam traditionem, quam Redemptor noſter compoſuit, ſuper ejus corpus & ſanguinem non diceremus.* Greg. lib. 7. epiſt. 63.

tioned

tioned the various (*l*) modes of Celebrating the Euchariſt in ſeveral Churches, particularly the *Roman* and the *French*; with a deſign to know his ſenſe thereof, and which he would have him follow.

That part aſcribed to *Alexander* by *Platina* and *Durand*, hath nothing of Prayer in it; being only a rehearſal of the words and actions, uſed in the inſtitution of this Sacrament; and ſo is impertinent.

That fathered upon *Siricius*, *Communicantes* &c. is not found in the *Roman* order; which *Bellarmine* ſayes contains the antient Canon intirely, *de miſſ. l.* 2. *c.* 20. *p.* 828. and ſo is a patch added ſome hundreds of years after *Siricius*; when *Rome* was ſo degenerated, as to prefer *Mary* before Chriſt.

That attributed to *Leo*, *Hanc igitur oblationem ſervitutis noſtræ, &c.* is a patch added long after, as *M. Moulin* of Maſs, *p.* 295. obſerves. Theſe words, of our Servitude, for we thy

(*l*) *Novit Fraternitas tua Romanæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem, in qua ſe nutritum meminit; ſed mihi placet, ut ſive in Romana, ſive in Gallicarum, ſeu in qualibet Eccleſia, aliquid inveniſti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo poſſit placere, ſolicite eligas — Non enim pro locis res, ſed pro bonis rebus loca amanda ſunt. Ex ſingulis ergo quibuſque eccleſiis, quæ pia, quæ religioſa, quæ rtẽa ſunt, elige, &c.* Beda eccle. hiſt. l. 1. c. 27.

In diverſis eccleſiis diverſas protulit conſuetudines; nec Romanus ipſe ubique voluit imponendus. Spelm. Concil. p. 110.

Servants, ſhew manifeſtly, that this Prayer was added unto the Maſs in a barbarous Age, wherein they did ſay, *Placuit noſtræ mediocritati ſubtiliter intimare veſtram fraternitatem* ; of which phraſes are ſtuffed the Epiſtles of the Biſhops, and Clergy-men of the ſeventh Age, and others following.

Gregory, in his anſwer to *Auſtin*, (who was his Creature, and whom he might have led into any conformity with a beck,) is ſo far from injoyning him, to conform to what was uſed at *Rome*, that he does not ſo much as adviſe it; nay he perſwades him to a courſe inconſiſtent with any reſtraint; and will have him uſe his liberty, in making choice of what he ſaw beſt, in any of the differing Churches, and if he found any thing, which might be more pleaſing to God, *plus omnipotenti Deo poſſit placere*, then what was uſed at *Rome*, to prefer that. (Which was ſuitable to his Maxim, *in una fide, nihil efficit ſanctæ eccleſiæ diverſa conſuetudo*) : Where there is one Faith, there's no hurt to the Church by diverſity (*m*) of uſages; intimating, that he was not ſo fully ſatisfied with the *Roman* mode; but that he had room to think, the way of another Church might be more pleaſing to God; which was in reaſon ſufficient, to reſtrain him from impoſing it on *Auſtin*, or others. And the

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(*m*) Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς ευσεβείας τῶν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστως συνίστησι. *Irenæus* to *Victor*, in *Euſeb. l.* 5. *c.* 25.

free

free courſe he would have *Auſtin* take, was not only his advice, but his practice: For when it was objected to him, that he followed, even in this adminiſtration, the cuſtoms of ſome other Churches, particularly of the *Greek*; his anſwer ſignifies, that he would not be ſo circumſcribed by the cuſtoms of *Rome*, but when he ſaw any thing (*n*) good, in any other of the inferiour Churches, he was ready to imitate it.

And, as *Gregory* did not impoſe the *Roman* Canon, or form of Conſecration on *Auſtin*, nor would have him preſcribe it to others: So *Auſtin*, though rigid and imperious enough, did not offer to impoſe it on the *Brittains*. He requires of them, but conformity in three things only, as *Beda* relates that tranſaction, whereof this was none (*o*). But, if he had inſiſted on

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(*n*) *Epiſt.* 41. *ad* Leandrum, *lib.* praiſed. *Syn. Tolet.* 4. *Can.* 5. *Walafr. Strab. de reb. eccleſ. cap.* 26.

Non de Conſtantinopolitana *Eccleſia, quod dicunt; quis eam dubitat ſedi Apoſtolicæ eſſe ſubjectam? Tamen ſi quid boni, vel ipſa, vel altera Eccleſia habit, ego & minores me, quas ab illicitis prohibeo, in bono imitari paratus ſum. Stultus eſt enim, qui to ſe primum exiſtimat, ut bona quæ videret diſcere contemnat.* l. 67. ep. 63.

(*o*) *Dicebat autem iis, quod in multis quidem noſtræ conſuetudini, imo univerſalis eccleſiæ contraria geritis; & tamen, ſi in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut paſcha ſuo tempore celebretis; ut miniſterium Baptizandi, quo deo renaſcimur, ſecundum morem Romanæ Sanctæ Eccleſiæ compleatis: ut Genti Anglorum una vobiſcum prædicetis verbum Domini, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus noſtris contraria, æquanimiter cuncta tolerabimus.* Bed. hiſt. lib. 1. c.

Another thus: *e Britonum & Scotorum Epiſcopis, in Synodo in Wigornienſi Provincia, poſtulavit, ut deinceps non Aſiano ſed Romano more, prædicarent, baptizarent, & paſcha celebrarent.* In Spel. Concil. p. 107. 108. Where, by Conformity in Baptiſm, probably he means (as in that about *Eaſter*) the time of Baptizing, for which the *Roman* Biſhops were great Zealots. *Vid. Leo epiſt.*

this, he had found no more complyance herein, then in the other: For the *Brittains* and *Scots*, were not only (*p*) enemies to the *Roman* uſe in the Euchariſt in *Gildas* time; but were adverſe to, and unacquainted with any uniformity, as in Celebrating the Lords Supper, ſo in other parts of Worſhip; and had no preſcribed Liturgies for ſuch uniformity long after. Which is manifeſt, by what Biſhop *Uſher*, the moſt Learned of our Biſhops, affirms of the *Iriſh*, (who with the *Scots*,) as he tells us, (*Epiſt. Dedic.*) differed little or nothing from what was maintained by their Neighbours the *Britains*, *ut* p. 98. "It is ſure (ſays he) that in the ſucceeding Ages, no one general form of Divine "Service, was retained; but divers rites and "manners of Celebration, in divers parts of "this Kingdom; until the *Roman* uſe was "brought in at laſt, by *Gillibertus*, and *Malachias*, and *Chriſtianus*, who were the Popes "Legates here, about five hundred years ago. *Relig. of Iriſh*, *cap.* 4. *p.* 31. So that the *Iriſh*

(*p*) *Britanni moribus Romanis inimici, non ſolum in miſſa, ſed etiam in tonſura.* Gildas in Uſh. Relig. of Iriſh. p. 34.

for

for above eleven hundred years (and the *Britains* and *Scots*, if not ſo long, yet long after *Auſtin*) retained ſuch liberty herein, as the Church antiently injoyed in all (*q*) quarters of the World. And when *Gillibert*, one of thoſe *Roman* Legates, rails at thoſe various (*r*) modes of adminiſtring Worſhip as Schiſmatical, and ſuch wherewith all *Ireland* had been deluded: He does no more, then thoſe (whom a better proſpect of things, in later and clearer times, might have made wiſer) who are ready ſtill to brand that as Schiſm, which agrees not with their own novel conceits or orders, how correſpondent ſoever it be to the general uſages of the antient Churches. And whether of old, the Churches had any ſuch cuſtom, as to confine the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper to preſcribed Forms of Prayer; let thoſe, who are diſintereſſed, judge by the premiſes.

To proceed; The words in their delivery of the Elements were not of old preſcribed, nor uſed in any unvariable Form. We need not go ſo high, for proof of this, as the ſixth Age. Later and worſe times afford evidence

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(*q*) For the Eaſt, *Vid. Socrat. hiſt. l. c.* Ἐν παᾶσι θρησκείαις τ δόγμασιν.

The Weſt. *Innocentius epiſt. ad Decentium. Diverſa in diverſis locis celebrari videntur.*

South. *Auguſtin. lib. de Baptiſm. contra Donat.* c.

(*r*) *Ut diverſi & Schiſmatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota deluſa eſt, ubi Catholico, & Romano cedant officio.* Uſher ibid.

enough

enough to ſatisfie us. Only, in our way, the obſervation of truly noble *Du Pleſſis*, as to the former Ages, is true beyond contradiction, *inter dandum vero verba hujus myſterii ſignificativa, ἐνεργήματα καὶ ἐναργήματα quæque præferebant, ita tamen, ut certis & ſtatis ſeſe non alligabant.* De Miſſ. p. 145. And the vanity uſed herein, both by Greeks and Latins Churches, is worth our notice, as he tells us, *Contra adverſariorum Superſtitionem, qui Sacramentorum, tum diſtributionem tum Conſecrationem, certis verbis adligare voluerunt*; in reference to the Superſtition of the Papiſts, (which it were to be wiſhed they had kept to themſelves,) who would have both the conſecration and diſtribution of the Sacraments, confined to a ſet of words. *p.* 155.

Yet how Superſtitious ſoever they were, in uſing their Canon as a charm, ſo as a word, a ſyllable might not be changed; more liberty was left and uſed, as to the words in the diſtribution of the Euchariſt; even after *Charles* the Great had ſuffered himſelf to be abuſed, as the Popes Executioner, in forcing ſome uniformity according to the Romiſh orders, on ſome of his Subjects.

Agobardus, Arch-Biſhop of *Lions* (famous, as for his oppoſition to Images, ſo for his indeavours to reform the corrupt Service of thoſe times) could not well like that common *Roman* Form. The Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *&c.* ſince he was only for Scripture expreſſions in

in the publick offices; *Cum præter Scripturas admittere in ſacris officiis nihil vellet.* Whether he was wiſely or piouſly diſliked for this; they, who have a due reverence for the Scripture, are more fit to be judges, then either *Baronius* or his Epitomator; *ob nimiam ſuam ſcrupuloſitatem haud quam putavit conſecutus gloriam.* Sp. ad an. 831. n. 2.

The words, which *Adrian* the 2d. uſed in giving the Communion to *Lotharius*, were far from any preſcribed Form. *Poſt miſſarum ſolennia, ſanctam ei Communionem porrigens, in hæc verba illum allocutus eſt.* Sp. ad an. 868. n. 4. *Si innoxium te recognoſcis a prohibito & interdicto tibi a Nicolao adulterii ſcelere; & hoc fixa mente ſtatutum habes, ut nunquam diebus vitæ tuæ Waldradæ pellicis tuæ dudum a te repudiatæ miſcearis nefario concubitu; fiducialiter accede, & Sacramentum ſalutis æternæ tibi ad remiſſionem peccatorum per futurum percipe: ſin autem tua conſcientia te accuſat, teque lethali vulnere ſauciatum proclamat, aut iterum redire mente diſponis in machiæ voluptabrum, nequaquam ſumere præſumas, ne forte ad judicium & condemnationem tibi adveniat, quod fidelibus ad remedium præparavit divina providentia.* In Regino & Aimonius. l. 5. c. 21.

The words, with which, the ſame *Adrian* delivered the Sacrament to the reſt of the *French*, are neither the ſame with theſe now deſcribed, nor with thoſe in the Miſſal (the words in that being but the tale of theſe) and the form changed

changed (too as well as the matter) being expreſſed hypothetically. *Si Domino & Regi tuo Lothario in objecto adulterii crimine favorem non præſtitiſti, neque conſenſum tribuiſti, & Waldradæ aliiſve ab hac ſede Apoſtolica Excommunicatis non Communicaſti; Corpus & Sanguis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proſit tibi in vitam æternam.* Id. ibid.

Long after this, *Leuthericus Archiepiſcopus Senonenſis*, in the delivery of the Sacrament, uſed theſe words; *Accipe, ſi dignus es.* *Robert* King of *France* checkt him for it, not becauſe thereby he tranſgreſſed any eſtabliſhed order; but becauſe the King, (not well enough acquainted with the Apoſtles diſcourſe, 1 *Cor.*) ſuppoſed there were none worthy to receive; *cum tamen ſit nullus qui habeatur dignus*; whereas *Leuthericus* his mode of diſtribution implyed, none that were not worthy ſhould receive. As for *Spondanus* his inference, that this Biſhop was no friend to Tranſubſtantiation, becauſe he delivered not the Euchariſt in the words of the Miſſal, *Corpus Domini Jeſu Chriſti ſit tibi ſalus animæ & corporis*, the Body of our Lord Jeſus, *&c.* upon a ſuppoſition, it ſeems, that the Monſter they are in love with, is thereby countenanced. Whether it is juſt or no, I leave thoſe to conſider, whom it concerns. *Spond. ad an.* 1004. *n.* 2.

To add no more, ſure the words, wherewith *Gregory* the ſeventh took the Sacrament himſelf, and would have delivered it to the Emperour, cannot

cannot be found in any Maſs-Book. They are thus repreſented by *Spond. ad ann.* 1077. *n.* 2. out of *Lambertus*, *cumque Sacratiſſimam Euchariſtiam ſumpturus, manu eam teneret, vocato Rege ac univerſa adſtantium multitudine, conteſtatum eſſe, eam ſe ſumere in judicium criminum, quæ Schiſmatici adverſus ipſum promulgaſſent; ut ſi innocens eſſet, abſolveretur ab omni ſuſpicione; ſi vero reus, ſubitanea periret morte.*

Or thoſe of *Paſchal* 2. who, *cum in celebratione miſſæ traderet Henrico Imperatori* 5. *Corpus & Sanguinem Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti: Domine Imperator, inquit, hoc corpus Domini natum ex* Maria *Virgine, paſſum in cruce pro nobis, ſicut Sancta & Apoſtolica tradit eccleſia, damus tibi; in confirmationem pacis, inter me & te, idque factum an.* 1111. *idibus* Aprilis, *teſte Sigeberto.* Cent. 12. c. 6. p. 886.

For Baptiſm, there is not any, the leaſt reaſon to imagine, they were more confined to ſet Forms, in adminiſtring it, then the Euchariſt. And therefore, where ſo little need to endeavour for a copious proof, we may be briefer.

The liberty the Antients took, to uſe ſeveral Forms in Baptiſm, with great variety, to the invariable uſe of which, thoſe, that are for freedom in Praying, are willingly confined; ſignifies they uſed as much liberty in thoſe Prayers.

I can find no more uniformity, in their Celebrating this Sacrament, then the other. But enough

enough may be eaſily found, to ſhew, that they were not, they would not be, tyed up to words and ſyllables. Even where varying might ſeem dangerous; they uſed variety of words, and thought an agreement in ſenſe ſufficient. And this is obſervable, as to the terms, wherein Chriſt delivered the Form of Baptizing, *Matth.* 28. Where ſure, if any where, they would have been patient of confinement to all punctilios. This was accounted a Form preſcribed by Divine Authority, *Lex namque tingendi impoſita eſt, & forma præſcripta eſt. Ite, docete Nationes, tingentes eas in nomen Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti*, ſayes *Tertullian*, *de Baptiſm. cap.* 13. It was not thought, that any had ſo much authority to preſcribe, as Chriſt; nor that any preſcriptions were ſo punctually to be obſerved. And yet, even in this, they made account, ſome liberty was left, and might be uſed; and uſed it was accordingly, as is manifeſt in their practice.

The firſt word, *Baptizing*, ſome uſed in the firſt perſon, *ego Baptizo te*, I Baptize thee; ſome in the ſecond perſon, Βαπτίζου, be thou Baptized; ſome in the third perſon, Βαπτίζεται ὁ δοῦλος, this Perſon, or this Servant of Chriſt is Baptized. *Vid. Theod. lect. p.* 167. Alſo they thought it as fit, to uſe in the Latin Churches *tingo* (a Native of the Latins) *as Baptizo* (an adopted word) So *Cyprian*, *ep.* 3. *l.* 4. *Ite ergo, & docete Gentes omnes, tingentes eas in nomine Patris, &c.* & Epiſt. 3. l. 2. Yet ſometimes *Baptizo*, *ep. ad Jobaian*, *p.* So *Tertullian*

lian (*s*), in the place fore quoted, *de Bapt. c.* 13. and *ad Praxeum, cap.* 26. *Noviſſimè mandavit, ut tingerent in Patrem, &c.* So *Jerom* and *Auguſtine* (*t*) render the words of Chriſt by *tingentes. Voſſ.* So they uſe *mergo*, or *mergito* for *baptizo*. Thus *Hierom* (*u*) *adverſ. Luciferian. Velut in lavacro, ter caput mergitare*; where the Greeks expreſs by τὸ ὁ τρὶς βαπτίζεσθ ἢ ἀνθρωπον πάλιν. *Baſil de Sp. Sancto, c.* 27. And *Tertullian*, (*w*) *dehinc ter mergitamur*, τρὶς μᾶλ ἀυτὸν ὁ ἱερέρχης βαπτίζει (*x*), *Dionyſ. Eccleſ. Hier. c.* 11. *in Voſſ.* They did not think, it ſeems,

(*s*) *Et poſt Reſurrectionem ſpondens, miſſurum ſe diſcipulis promiſſionem Patris, & noviſſime mandans, ut tingerent in Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum, non nec ſemel, ſed ter ad ſingula nomina in perſonas ſingulas tingimur.* Tertull. adv. Prax. cap. 26.

Neque quicquam refert inter eos, quos Johannes in Jordane, *&* Petrus *in* Tiberi *tinxit.* De baptiſ. cap. 1. & cap. 19. *Diem baptiſmi ſolennioren Paſcha præſtat, cum & paſſio Domini, in quo tingimur, adimpleta eſt.*

(*t*) *In hoc ergo fonte, antequam vos toto corpore tingiremus, interrogavimus, credis in Deum.* Auguſt. hom. ad Neophyt. in Vicec. p. 608.

(*u*) *Multa, quæ per traditionem, in eccleſia obſervantur, auctoritatem ſibi ſcriptæ legis uſurpaverant, velut, in lavacro ter mergitare.* Hieronym. adv. Luciferian.

(*w*) *Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid reſpondentes, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit.* Tertull. de cor. mil. c. 3.

Myſterium Trinitatis in Sacramento Baptiſmatis demonſtratur, dum tertia vice vetus homo mergitur. Auguſt. de temp. ſerm. 201. *Quando in ſalutari lavacro tertio chriſtiani merguntur.* Hom. 91. de temp. *Mira Dei pietas, peccator mergitur undis.* Paulin. epigr. ep. 12. ad Severum.

As great a change, as if any, amongſt us now, adminiſtring Baptiſm, inſtead of *I baptize thee*, ſhould ſay, *I dip*, or, *I waſh thee, in the name*, &c.

(*x*) Τεὶς βαπτίσματα μίας μυήσιας. Can. Apoſt. 50.

that

that Chriſt himſelf (whatever others take upon them) would tye them ſo preciſely to his own words, but that they might have leave to change them for others, which changed not the ſenſe.

The like liberty was taken, in changing the next phraſe, εἰς ὄνομα into ἐπ ὀνόματ☉, as 'tis in *Juſtin Martyr*, *Apol.* 2. p. 159, 160.

And the Latins, for in *nomen* (as it is in *Tertull. de Baptiſ. c.* 13.) *in nomine*, as in *Cyprian*, *ſupra.* A difference, which ſome count more then ſyllabical. Yet *Tertullian* varies more, when he leaves it (the name) quite out; which he does more then once: *Noviſſime mandavit, ut tingerent in Patrem, Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, adv. Praxeum*, cap. 26. *Ite ad docendas & tingendas nationes in Patrem, Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, de præſcrip.* c. 8. They thought it no variation of the rule, where the ſenſe and deſign of it was obſerved, to change ſomething of the expreſſion. And would they preſume to exact a more punctual conformity to rules of their own making, then what they thought Chriſt required to his? Or would they pay more to any Humane Conſtitution, then they made account was due to the Divine? Their practice obliged them, to leave others as much, or more liberty then here they took; and neither to fetter others, nor be fettered by them, with words and ſyllables, when the great Law-giver had left them ſo free.

Vicec. de bapt. p. 395.
Zuingl. de bapt. tom. 2. p. 201.
Piſcat. in *Matth.* 28.

But

But proceed we to what may ſeem yet more conſiderable. Some thought themſelves, not obliged to Baptize expreſly in the Name of the ſacred Trinity, μὴ πιστεύσαι τ τειάδ& ὀνόμασιν, ſo as to name every Perſon as they are mentioned, *Matt.* 28. 19. but in the Name of Chriſt, or of the Lord Jeſus, or of the Lord.

And this, ſuppoſed to be the Practice of the beſt times, hath great Advocates; *Baſil*, l. *de Spiritu Sancto* cap. 16. defends it thus, ἡ δὲ τῦ χειςῦ πρόσηγορία, τῦ παντὸς ἐςὶν ὁμολογία, the naming of Chriſt is an acknowledgment of the whole Trinity: ὀνομοῖ γὰρ τὸν τε χείσανλα θεὸν, καὶ τ χειςθέντα υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ χεῖσμα, τὸ πνεῦμα, p. 257. which are almoſt the words of *Irenæus* before him, *Adv. Hæreſ.* l. 3. c. 20. p. 209. *In Chriſti enim nomine ſubauditur, qui unxit, & ipſe qui unctus eſt, & ipſa unctio in qua unctus eſt, & unxit quidem Pater, unctus eſt vero Filius, in Spiritu qui eſt unctio.* For in the Name of Chriſt is underſtood, he that anoints, and he that is anointed, and the Unction with which he is anointed. And the Father indeed anoints, but the Son was anointed with the Spirit, who is the Unction.

Add to theſe, *Theophylact*, who affirms, Τὸν βαπλιζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησῦ Χειςῦ, εἰς τειάδα βαπλίζεσθαι, ἐκ ἀποσχιζομένης τῦ παλεὸς καὶ τῦ ὑῦ, καὶ τῦ ἁγίυ πνεύμαλ&, in *Act.* 2. That he, who is Baptized into the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, is Baptized into the Trinity; the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt being not parted. To the ſame purpoſe *Ambroſe* alſo following *Baſil* in the defence of it, *Qui unum dixit, Trinitatem ſignavit. Si Chriſtum dicas, & Deum Patrem, à quo unctus eſt Filius, & ipſum, qui unctus eſt, Filium, & Spiritum, quo unctus eſt, deſignaſti.—— ſi tamen id etiam corde comprehendas, &c.* de Spiritu

Sanct. *l.* 1. c. 3. If the Perſon was Named, ſo as the reſt were underſtood, they thought the preſcribed form ſufficiently obſerved, tho' it was not *verbatim* repeated, but liberty taken, to change either the Words, or their order; ſo theſe great Perſons following. And can we think they would take upon them to preſcribe more imperiouſly, or would more punctually obſerve it, if others had impoſed? So theſe excellent Perſons judged, in reference to the form of Baptizing, which our great Lord delivered to us: And can we think, *&c.*—— eſpecially in Prayers, where varying is more tolerable, and the Preſcribers of no Authority, in compariſon of him who authorized the Form before us.

Some uſed it in *Cyprian*'s time, *Quomodo ergo quidam dicunt—— modo in nomine Jeſu Chriſti, ubicunque & quomodocunque Gentilem Baptizatum, remiſſionem peccatorum conſequi poſſe*, p. 225. Ep. 73. *ad Jubaianum.* He allows it not indeed, but it ſeems thoſe that were not of his opinion, for Rebaptizing of the Baptized by Hereticks, ſome of them differed from him in this; and before, p. 224. *Non eſt autem quod aliquis ad circumveniendam Chriſtianam veritatem Chriſti nomen opponat, ut dicat, In nomine Jeſu Chriſti, ubicunque & quomodocunque Baptizati, gratiam Baptiſmi ſunt conſecuti, &c. Fortaſſe Stephanus Romæ Epiſcopus.*

Others, tho' they expreſſed the three Perſons in adminiſtring Baptiſm, yet did they not tie themſelves preciſely herein to the (*a*) words of Chriſt,

(*a*) Thoſe that will have the three Perſons to have been always named, deny not, but that their Names were uſed with ſome variation; vid. *Vicec. de Baptiſ. rit.* l. 4. c. 5. *Non negaverim tamen, probabile videri, Chriſti, aut Jeſu, aut Jeſu Chriſti nomen aliquandiu appoſitum fuiſſe, addito item* Domini noſtri, *ſed non*

non omiſſo Patris & Spiritus Sancti nomine, hac forma, Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, & Filii ejus Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri, & Spiritus Sancti.

Cyprian, tho' for the other, rejects not this, opening Act. 2. *Jeſu Chriſti mentionem facit Petrus, non quaſi Pater omitteretur, ſed ut Patri quoque Filius adjungeretur, &c.* Epiſt. ad *Jubaian.*

but inlarged upon them, adding ſomething thereto, as the former detracted. This is evident in *Juſtin Martyr*, who thus repreſents the words they uſed in Baptizing, *Apol.* 2. p. 159. Ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τότε τὸ λουτρὸν ποιήσασθαι, *In the Name of the Father of all things, and of our Lord God, and of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and of the Holy Spirit, this waſhing with Water is performed*; and afterwards, with ſome variety in the latter clauſes thus, p. 160. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε, καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ πραχθέντα, ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ λούσασθαι, (*b*) *And in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, who was Crucified by* Pontius Pilate, *and in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, who by the Prophets foretold all things concerning Jeſus, he that is to be illuminated is Baptized.* In which words are contained the *regula fidei*, the ſum of the Confeſſion of Faith, as he expreſſed it. And if they uſed the words of that rule in Baptizing, they tied not themſelves to one Form of words in that admini-

(*b*) Ὁ τὴν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀληθινῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων ὃν καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, *Iren. l.* 1. c. 1. p. 34. So *Baſil*, Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως, πιστεύειν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐκ πίστεων γεγυμνάσθων ἐχόμεθα· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἤρξατο σωτηρία, de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. p. 274. *Facilius inveniuntur Hæretici, qui non baptizant, quam qui ſymboli verbis non baptizant*, Auguſt. contr. Don. l. 6. c. 25.

ſtration. For a Confeſſion of Faith, in a common unvariable Form they had not in that Age, nor long after. All the Uniformity to be found herein, is a harmony in (*c*) ſenſe, while there is in words a great diverſity. The variety of expreſſions, uſed by the Ancients (*Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, &c. which you may ſee in *Grotius* upon *Matth.* 28. 19.) in giving an account of it's ſeveral Articles, make this manifeſt, they were not ſo ſtrict and ſevere in any thing, as in the Rule of Faith. In other matters, tho' Eccleſiaſtical, they allowed more variableneſs and greater Latitude. *Hac lege fidei manente, cætera jam diſciplinæ & converſationis admittunt novitatem correctionis*, ſays *Tertullian*, de *Virgin. veland.* and yet in theſe, were ſatisfied with ſuch an Uniformity as conſiſted only in Senſe, not in Words. To one Form of words in this niceſt point, and where varying was

(*c*) *Cur enim veteres, non apellatione profeſſionis variare potuerint, quando profeſſionis & regulæ ipſius ſententiis, earumque ordine & verbis, tantopere diſcreparent?* Voſſ. de 3. *Symb.* diſſ. 1. §. 20. p. 17.

Horum locorum collatio docere nos poteſt, cum veteres regulam fidei aut baptiſmi immutabilem dicunt, non ad certam & receptam ubique verborum formulam eos reſpicere, ſed ad vim atque ſententiam interrogationum. Grot. in *Matth.* 28. 19. *Quæ, ipſa* Cypriani *verba oſtendere mihi videntur, ſymbolum ſive regulam fidei, ipſius ætate, nondum adſtrictam fuiſſe illis verbis, quibus poſtea ſcripta invenitur; cum tamen eandem fuiſſe regulæ ſententiam, minime ſit dubitandum*, Id. ibid.

In *Tertullian*, lib. de *præſcript.* cap. 13. lib. 2. contra *Prax.* & lib. de *Veland. Virg.*

Vid. Two different Forms in *Irenæo*, l. 3. c. 4. p. 172. and l. 1. cap. 2. p. 34, 35. edit. *Galluſq.*

moſt

moſt hazardous; they neither (*d*) limited others, nor would be confined by others, no nor by themſelves: We have ſeen this before in *Juſtin Martyr*, (*Tertullian*) and *Irenæus* (with others in *Grotius*) is alſo a very pregnant inſtance of it. (*e*) He gives ſeveral accounts of the rule of Faith, *de Veland. Virg.* which neither agree with what is given by others, in mode of expreſſion, neither with one another; there being no coincidence in any one phraſe obſervable through the whole. And is it probable, that

(*d*) And when the Creeds had more ſtated Forms, in the IV. Century; in the ſame Country the Creeds of ſeveral Cities were not uniform, *v. g.* in *Italy*, that of *Rome* much differed from that at *Aquileia*, vid. *Ruſin.* and *Voſſ.* de Symb. p. 29. *&c.* And that of *Ravenna* from both. *Uſh.* de Symb. p. 7. *Petr. Chryſol.* Serm. 57. *&c. de Maximo Taurinenſiq.*

(*e*) The Creed (*regula fidei ὁμολογία πίστεως*) was at firſt no more than the words, wherewith Baptiſm was to be delivered, *Matth.* 28. 19. *Parker* de deſcenſ. *Voſſ.* de Symb. p. 23. it was inlarged by degrees, and till it grew too large, probably was uſed in the delivery of Baptiſm, as we have it in *Juſtin Martyr*, no other than a commentary, inſtead of the Text; afterward the uſe of it was, to be rehearſed by the *Competantes*, before they were Baptized, ſo but once, or twice, or in ſome places thrice a year.

Not put into ſet Form till the fourth Age, or near it: And thoſe Forms varied in ſeveral places in the ſame Country, *vid. ſupra.*

It had no place in the Church Service, till near the ſixth Age; for as the Lord's Prayer was uſed no where but in the Euchariſtical Office, while the orders for the *Catechumens* were obſerved; ſo the Creed was not uſed but in Baptiſm, or in order to it, till late.

The firſt who brought it into the Church Service, was (not as *Voſſ. Timoth.*) *Petrus Gnapheus*, a perſon ſtigmatized for more hainous crimes than one: part of his Character ſee in *Evagr.* l. 3. c. 17. He amongſt other innovations, introduced this, Πεῖσαν φησὶ τ Κυαρία ὀπνῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι,

and which was more, ἐν ἐκείνῃ εὐχῇ τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι, *Theod. lect. collect.* l. 2. p. 189. This was about the latter end of the fifth Age at *Antioch*, *obiit an.* 486. Afterwards *Timotheus*, a flagitious person and a Heretick, *vid. Spond. an.* 511. n. 3. brought it into the same use at *Constantinople*, being made Bishop there by *Anastatius*, according to *Baronius*, 511. till 517. Τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἑκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ὅπερ διαβολῆ ὑπέκλεψεν μακεδονίς, ὡς αὐτὸ μὴ δεχομένη τὸ σύμβολον, ἃ πᾶς τῆς ἴδιος λεγόμενον παρίστησιν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀναφορᾷ τὸ θεῖα πάθος τοῦ καιροῦ ἀδιαλείπτως ἀναμιμνήσκοντος καὶ ἡμᾶς, *Theod. lect. collect.* l. 2. p. 188.

The Western Churches had it from the East (this not the first time the Church borrowed of Hereticks. The unguent from the *Valentinians*, *Iren.* l.... c.... stated Fasts from *Montanists*) *Illud symbolum, quod nos ad imitationem Græcorum intra missas adsumimus*, Walafrid. Strabo *de reb. Eccles.* c. 22. first in *Spain*, Conc. Toled. 3. c. 2. an. 589. *per omnes Ecclesias Hispaniæ & Galliciæ, secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, Concilii Constantinopolitani symbolum recitetur.*

In *France* and *Germany* long after, *Walafr. Strab.* de reb. Eccles. cap. 22. *Sed apud Gallos & Germanos, post dejectionem Felicis Hæretici sub Glorioſissimo Carolo, Francorum Rege, idem symbolum latius & crebrius in missarum cœpit officiis iterari.* And the *Constantinopolitan* Creed rather than the *Nicene*, for a very weighty reason, *quod aptius videretur modulis musicis*; of which *Baronius* seems ashamed, *ad an.* 809. n. 3. *Felix* condemned, an. 794. *Baron.*

Not at *Rome* till *an.* 1014. when *Berno Augiensis*, lib. *de miss.* relates, he being at *Rome*, *cum Romani Presbyteri ab eo interrogarentur, Cur post evangelium (ut in aliis eccl-siis fiebat) symbolum non canerent?* they gave him a reason, such a one as it is; and adds, *Imperatorem* (*Henric.* 1.) *Benedicto Papæ persuasisse, ut ad publicam missam symbolum decantarent*, in *Spond.* ad an. 1014. n. 3.

they who left themselves and others so much liberty about *formulas* of Creeds, would deprive others of it, or be bereaved of it themselves, in Forms of Prayer (in Baptism, or elsewhere) where there is much more reason for more liberty? How incredi-

ble

ble is it, That their Prayers were limited to a ſet of Words, when the *regula fidei*, which more required it, had no ſuch confinement? Sure, if they had judged any ſuch limits requiſite in any thing of this nature, they would have given them to that rule of Faith. No Prayers, Supplications, Lauds, Litanies, *&c.* could in their judgment require ſuch ſtrict, and preciſe, and unalterable bounds, as that which they counted and ſtiled *immobilem & irreformabilem.*

The Apoſtles Creed may be objected, but is ſufficiently removed by the premiſſes. Thoſe who can believe what pleaſeth them, may receive the ſtory of *Ruffinus* concerning it; but his faithfulneſs and credit is not ſo much with others, as to advance it above a Fable. And it ſeems incredible, that there ſhould be ſuch a Form among Chriſtians, of the Apoſtles compoſing, and yet the Ancients, for above Three hundred Years, take no notice of it, yea take the boldneſs to vary from it; and, which is more, to prefer thoſe of their own conception before it, on the ſolemneſt occaſions.

Or, if there were ſuch a Form of the Apoſtles, and the Ancients would not confine themſelves to it, as it is apparent they did not; much leſs would they be confined to Forms of Prayer, compoſed by ordinary Perſons.

In the conſtitutions aſcribed to the Apoſtles, the Creed to be uſed in Baptiſm, is exceeding (*f*) different from that called the Apoſtles, not only in Words, Phraſes, Order, but in the omiſſion of divers Articles, and the addition of others, *vid.* l. 7. c. 42.

(*f*) Ἔχων τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, κ) ταῖς τεσσὶν ἁγίαις σφραγῖσι, Athanaſ. *contr. Sabell.* orat. tom. 1. p. 513.

Moreover, *Baſil* (g) tells us, The Confeſſion of Faith is conformable to the delivery of Baptiſm, and the Doxology conformable to the Confeſſion of Faith; That they are all three much alike. That they Baptized as they had received, and believed accordingly as they Baptized, and gave glory juſt as they believed; that there was a neceſſary and inviolable coherence betwixt theſe, and that an innovation in any of theſe, would deſtroy the whole, ἐχὶ ἡ ἐν τούτοις καινοτομία, τῶ παντὸς δῦσι καταλυσις; lib. de *Sp. Sanct.* cap. 27. p. 274. But he does not think the change of Phraſe and Words therein is ſuch an innovation, if it remain the ſame in ſenſe, ταυτὸν τῇ διανοίαν, for he himſelf uſed the Doxology very variouſly, and would not be bound up to one Form, in the expreſſing of but four or five Words. And by what liberty he took in this, ſhews, what might be taken in the reſt. Two days before the writing of this Book, in Prayer with the People, ἀμφοτέρως δοξολογίαν, he uſed the *Doxology* two ways (both differing from that which is uſual) as he tells us *cap.* 1. Τῷ θεῷ χ) παλεὶ νῦν μὲν μετὰ τῦ ὑῦ σὺν τῷ πν. σύματι ἁγίῳ, νῦν δ διὰ τῦ ὑῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *Glory to God and the Father* (adding) *ſometimes with the Son, together with the Holy Ghoſt; ſometimes by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*; but this is but a taſte of his variety. He that will obſerve how it is uſed in this Book, and in the end of his *Homilies*, may find it diverſified

(g) Ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, ὅτω χ) πιστεύειν ὀφείλομεν, ὁμοίαν τῷ βαπτίσματι τὴν ὁμολογίαν καταπιπέμεθα, συγχωρητά πως αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἐκ τ αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίας, ὁμοίαν τῇ πίστει τὴν δόξαν ἀποδιδόναι· νῦν γὰρ ἡμᾶς διδασκόντων, μὴ βαπτίζειν εἰς παρελήφαμεν· ἢ μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν, ἢ μὴ δοξάζειν ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν· ἕνεκά τ τοῦ γὰρ τὶς ἢ ὡς ἐκ ἀναγκαία χ) αὐτόνομος ἢ περὶ ἄλλα τίνων ἀκολουθία, de *Spir. Sanct.* c. 27. p. 274.

near

near forty ſeveral ways, and run almoſt into ſo many Changes, as ſo few words are capable of. One may think they are put to hard ſhifts for proof of the preſcribed Forms in queſtion, who are glad to make the antient Uſe of the *Doxology* one of their Arguments. We ſee it would not ſerve their turn, if it could be proved, that they were as much limited to Forms of Prayer in Baptiſm, as they thought themſelves confined to the words of Chriſt, delivering the Form of Baptizing. Thoſe that thought a παῦσιν πρὸς διάνοιαν, a conformity in ſenſe ſufficient, where Chriſt gives the direction, might with much reaſon judge this enough, or too much, when men only preſcribe; and in caſes too, where a greater Latitude is ſafer. Their practice, in the ſeverals premiſed, ſhew, they knew no ſuch preſcriptions, nor would have honoured them with any more obſervance, or ſo much.

To proceed, There was a mode of Renunciation generally uſed in *Baptiſm*, and a general agreement to uſe the ſame in ſenſe; and yet, as to Words and Syllables, a ſtrange variety: When as here, if any where, a common rule injoining uniformity in Words might have been expected, and in ſuch a Caſe, if in any, would have been obſerved. I have taken notice of more than twenty (*b*) variations of this ſo ſhort a ſentence; and find no two of the many Antients who uſed it, to repreſent the uſage of it to us, agreeing therein as to Words and

(*b*) Origenes, *Quid denunciaverit diabolo, non ſe uſurum pompis ejus, & voluptatibus pariturum*, in ep. ad *Rom. Univerſis denique aliis Diis & Dominis*, Homil. 8. in *Exod.*

Conſtantius, de ſe, Renuncians Satanæ Pompis & operibus ejus & univerſis idolis manu factis, credere me in Deum profeſſus ſum, in Edict. ad *Sylveſt.*

Cyril

Cyril, Hieroſolym. *Catech.* 1. *Myſter.* Ἀλλ' ὑμῶς ἀλύειν τίλαμβάνη χρεὼ ὡς πρὸς παράλογα εἰπεῖς, ἀποτάσσομαι σοὶ σατανᾶ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ, p. 228, 229.

Ephrem. Syrus, *Abrenuncio tibi Satan, & cunctis operibus tuis*, l. de pœnit. c. 5.

Baſil, Ἀλλὰ τί ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας ἐστὶ γραφῆς, de *Spir. Sanc.* cap. 27. i.e no preſcription for it.

Cyril Alexandrin. *Ibi depoſuerimus tenebras a mente noſtra, & dæmoniorum turbis valedixerimus, omnemque ipſorum pompam, & cultum prudentiſſime reſpuerimus, confitemur fidem in Patrem*, lib. 7. contra *Julian.*

Salvian Maſſilienſ. *Abrenuncio, inquis, Diabolo, Pompis, ſpectaculis & operibus ejus*, de provid. lib. 6. p. 197. *Quæ eſt enim in baptiſmo ſalutari Chriſtianorum prima confeſſio, niſi ut renunciare ſe Diabolo, ac pompis ejus, atque ſpectaculis, & operibus, proteſtentur?* p. 198.

Dionyſius Areop. Ἐμφυσῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαπελευσθαι τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ ὡσαύτως τὰ τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρόμενον, *Eccleſ. Hierarch.* The repeating of it ſingular.

Clemens Conſtit. ἀπαγγελλέτω οὖν ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀποτάσσεσθαι· ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ σατανᾷ· καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐνδρύσεσιν αὐτοῦ, l. 7. c. 41.

Juſtinian. Ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι μυσθοῖς, καὶ ἧς προεχειρίσαντο ἀξιώσεως μυστηρίων αὐτοὶ προκηρύττεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου δαίμονος λατρείας καὶ πάσης πομπῆς, c.... l. 33. §. 1. *de Epiſcop. Audient.*

Tertullian, *Sed & aliquanto prius in Eccleſia ſub Antiſtitis manu, conteſtamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus*, de Coron. Milit. c. 3.

Optatus Milevit. *Contra nos peccatores (ut vultis) interrogemus alterum Gentilem, an renunciet Diabolo, & credat Deo, &c. & dicat Renuncio & credo*, Contr. Parmenianum, l. 5. p. 59.

Cyprian, *Seculo renunciavimus cum Baptizati ſumus*, Epiſt. 5. l. 1. *Stare illic potuit Dei ſervus, & loqui, & renunciare Chriſto, qui jam Diabolo renunciaret & ſeculo*, Serm. de Lapſ. p. 151. *Cujus (mundi) pompis & deliciis jam tunc renunciavimus, cum meliori tranſgreſſu ad Dominum venimus*, de habit Virgin. p 107. *Se carnis concupiſcentiis & vitiis renunciaſſe profitetur*, id ibid.

Auguſtin, *Quiſquis huic ædificio conjungi deſiderat, renunciet Diabolo, Pompis & Angelis ejus*, de ſymbol. ad Catechum. l. 3. c. 1.

Omiſ.

Omiſſa enim certiſſima cautione, qua vos abrenunciare omnibus Pompis Diaboli, & omnibus operibus ejus, & omni fornicationi diabolicæ, ſpoſpondiſtis, Homil. 3. *ad neophytos. Pro ipſis enim reſpondent, quod abrenuncient Diabolo, Pompis & Operibus ejus, & ideo pactum, quod, cum Chriſto in Baptiſmi Sacramento, conſcribunt, cuſtodire contendant, nec unquam aliquid de Diaboli pompis, vel mundi iſtius luxurioſis oblectationibus concupiſcant*, de *Temp.* Serm. 116.

Ambroſe, *Dicens, abrenuncio tibi, Diabole, & Angelis tuis, & operibus tuis & imperiis tuis*, Hexam. l. 1. c. 4. *Quando te interrogavit Sacerdos; abrenunciasne Diabolo, & Operibus ſuis? quid reſpondiſti? Abrenuncio. Abrenuncias ſeculo & voluptatibus ejus? quid reſpondiſti? Abrenuncio*, de Sacrament. l. 1. c. 2. *Quid interrogatus es, recognoſce, quid reſponderis, renunciaſti Diabolo & operibus ejus, mundo & luxuriæ ejus*, lib. de iis qui Myſter. initiant. c. 2.

Chryſoſtom, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σοῦ, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σοῦ, Homil. 21. ad pop. Antioch. p. 609. Savil. edit. ἀποτάσσομαί σοι σατανᾶ καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σοῦ, in *Coloſſ.* 2. Hom. 5. p. 122.

Μετὰ τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ (πομπῇ) τότε ἀπετάξατο, in *Joh.* Hom. 1. p. 558.

Hieronym. *Quidam coactius diſſerunt in Baptiſmate ſingulos pactum inire cum Diabolo & dicere, Renuncio tibi, Diabole, & pompæ tuæ & vitiis tuis, & mundo tuo, qui in maligno poſitus eſt*, in Matth. 5. Tom. 6. p. 6. *Confeſſus es bonam confeſſionem in Baptiſmo, renunciando ſeculo & pompis ejus*, in 1 *Tim.* 6. Tom. 8. p. 270. *Secundo poſt Baptiſmum gradu, iniſti pactum cum adverſario tuo, dicens ei, Renuncio tibi Diabole, & ſeculo tuo, & pompæ tuæ, & operibus* (*al.* opibus) *tuis*, Epiſt. 7. ad Demetriad. p. 63. *Abrenunciationem qua præputiis denudamur, ante oculos collocemus—— ſic namque dicimus, abrenunciare nos mundo & pompis ejus*, Epiſt. ad *Theraſiam*, de vera Circumciſ. Tom. 9.

No Writings mentioned the uſe of any Words whatſoever, any Prayer at all on thoſe occaſions, none injoyned any ſet Form of Prayer: But any Words were ſo far from being injoyned, that there were none ſo much as ſet down or mentioned in any Writing.

Syllables; nor yet have I met with two inſtances, where the difference is not more than Syllabical: It may be others may meet with more; yet if more

more than two, amongſt ſo many intending to expreſs the ſame thing, had uſed exactly the ſame Words, (and where other things beſides a Rule might have rendered their expreſſions Uniform) it would have been no proof, that the Words had been preſcribed; it would rather be ſtrange, if in ſuch circumſtances, they ſhould not caſually fall into ſuch an agreement without the conduct of any preſcription. But ſince they are ſo far from obſerving the punctilios of a preſcribed Uniformity, and vary herein ſo much, as one may wonder how ſo few Words could be contrived into ſuch variety; it proves ſufficiently, that they were not under any Orders, obliging them, to uſe preciſely the ſame Words.

And thus we find not only thoſe of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches differing, or ſuch as lived at a greater diſtance, and in the parts of the Empire, remoteſt one from another, but thoſe of the ſame Country and the ſame Church, where, if any where, Uniformity is to be lookt for: We may obſerve it in *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Optatus*, and *Auguſtin*.

Nor do ſeveral Perſons only differ herein amongſt themſelves, but we may ſee in divers inſtances, one and the ſame Perſon expreſs this uſage variouſly; whenas, he that is not circumſcribed by others, nor will be impoſed on by the imperious, is conſtant to himſelf, many times, and varies not in the uſe of as many, or more Words, than this Form conſiſted of; and ſo it is repreſented by *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Jerom*, *Auguſtin*, *Ambroſe*, *Origen*.

Now, if in ſo ſhort a ſentence as this, and that univerſally uſed in ſome terms or other, with a general harmony as to the ſenſe, and wherein alſo there is nothing of Prayer, and ſo none of that reaſon

reaſon which there is for freedom in Praying, they were not limited, nor did tie themſelves to a Sett of Words: Who can believe they were, or would have ſuffered themſelves to be confined to an unvariable Form of words, in Praying at Baptiſm?

And that there were none limited to any Forms of Prayer, is made evident, more directly by that of *Baſil*, lib. de *Spir. Sanc.* cap. 27. where, mentioning the ſeveral Prayers uſed in Baptizing, he declares there were none of them to be found in writing, Ἐυλογῶμεν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ χρίσματος, καὶ πρὸ τούτων αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς σιωπωμένης, καὶ μυστικῆς παραδόσεως, p. 271. *We bleſs the Water in Baptiſm, and the Oyl uſed in Unction, and the Party alſo Baptized*; but out of what Writings? They had no Prayers for theſe ſeverals, in or before his times, written; none found, none ſet down in writing; and how there could be preſcribed Forms of Prayer, and yet no Prayers in writing, is not intelligible. There were no writings injoyning them, That Prayers ſhould be uſed for theſe purpoſes; much leſs therefore, what Prayers ſhould be made uſe of, or in what Form of Words. For where the exiſtence of a thing is not ſuppoſed, there's no giving rules for the mode of it, amongſt thoſe who are regulated by reaſon. They had then no Rules nor Preſcriptions in Scripture, or Councils, or Fathers, or any Church Liturgies, for the uſe of ſuch Prayers (much leſs for the Words of them) ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων reaches all. There was nothing for them in his time, but σιωπωμένη καὶ μυστικὴ παράδοσις, ſilent and ſecret Tradition, in oppoſition to (ἐγγράφοις) what is (*i*) Written;

(*i*) *Duobus modis dici poſſe obſervationem aliquam eſſe ſcriptam: id enim ſcriptum cum ab aliquo vel ſcripta lege fuiſſe præſcriptum* (*qui*

(*qui proprius eſt & uſitatus horum verborum ſenſus*) *vel tantum in ſcripto libro commemoratum*, Dall. de *pſeudep.* p. 334. He takes *Baſil* in the former ſenſe, *ibid.*

Ob. But by Writings *Baſil* may underſtand the Scriptures only. *Anſ.* His words plainly deny it of all Writings, and not of the Scripture only, *vid. Dall.* p. 334. He alledges many expreſſions of *Baſil* in the ſame place, concluding, *Ex quibus vel cæcus videt, quæ iſta accepta erant, Traditionem, Baſilium non quibuſdam, ſed quibuſvis; non canonicis, ſed omnibus omnino libris opponere*, ibid.

which is utterly excluſive of, and inconſiſtent with any ſuch Rules or Preſcriptions, and ſo quite clears the Church for all ſuch preſcribed Forms in Baptiſm, in all Ages till that day. And clear of them it was long after; for,

The Impoſtor, (*k*) who forged theſe Conſtitutions, under the name of *Clemens*, many Hundred years after the Apoſtles, and one Age at leaſt after *Baſil*, tho' he ſet down Prayers for the Baptiſmal

(*k*) *Ob. Cook*, p. 123. And others deny the latter part of this Book to be *Baſil*'s. *Anſ.* The generality of Proteſtant writers do not queſtion it, *Chamier*, *Caſaubon*, *Dalleus*.

Mr. *Cook* thinks it was writ by one living after *Meletius*, who ſurvived *Baſil*, and ſo after *Baſil*'s time. The later he lived, the leſs Antient will preſcribed Forms appear to be by his Teſtimony, which in this cannot be ſuſpected; who will think him ſo impudent to affirm, what every one knew to be falſe?

B. *Uſher* inclines to think, the interpolations of the ſix Antient Epiſtles aſcribed to *Ignatius*, with the ſix latter, and alſo *Clemens* Conſtitutions did *ex eadem officina prodire*, and yet the former not extant before the ſixth Age; and therefore the Conſtitutions are elder, in *Dalleus*, de *ſuppoſit. Ign.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 237, *cum* 232, 233.

After the Prayers in Baptiſm, in reference to the Oyl and Water, and Chriſm, c. 43, 44, 45. l. 7. having ſaid, c. 43. Ἐπιγαλεῖται ὅτι, he adds, c. 45. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα λεγόντω, *hæc atque alia his conſentanea dicat*, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰς ἔνδοξον τόπων —— ὀπίκλησις γένηται τιμίου, &c.

For

For the Catechumens, Κλινόντων ἢ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἐυλογείτω αὐτὸς ὁ χειροθετηθεὶς ὁπίσχοπ@ ἐυλογίαν τοιάνδε, ſome ſuch, *hujuſmodi benedictione*, l. 8. c. 16. med.

For the penitents, Ἐπεὐχέσθω ὖν ὁ ὁπίσκοπ@ τοιάδε, in ſome ſuch manner, *in hunc modum*, cap. 8. fin. In the bleſſing of Water and Oyl, λεγέτω ἢ ὅτως, c. 29. l. 8. πρὶ ἐυχαριςίας ὅτω λέγονλες, l. 7. c. 26. *pro primitiis collatis*, ὅτως ἐυχαριςεῖ, l. 8. c. 39. *pro mortuis* ἐυχαριςείτω λέγων τοιάδε, l. 8. c. 41. *poſt ſumptionem Euchariſtiæ*, μετὰ ἢ τὸ μυςήριον ὅτως ἐυχαριςήσατε, l. 7. c. 27. πρὶ ἢ τὰ μύρα ὅτως ἐυχαριςήσατε, l. 7. c. 28. πρὶ μὲν ἢ ἐυχαριςίας ὅτω λέγονλες, *pro Euchariſtia quidem in hunc modum*, l. 7. c. 26.

And by theſe inſtances, when he calls for Prayer or Praiſe, with λεγέτω, or εἰπάτω, or ἐπευχέσθω λέγων, or the like; we have warrant to underſtand τοιάδε, or ὅτως, or τὰ τύτοις ἀκόλυθα, and that ſuch liberty is allowed.

Office, yet he ties none to thoſe Forms (no not when he pretends they were of the Apoſtles compoſing) nor to any other; but leaves all at liberty to Pray as they ſaw good, only to the ſame effect he would have them Pray. He requires not, that they ſhould uſe thoſe Prayers (of his) but ſuch Prayers with a τοιαύτη τὶς, his words are, *l.* 7. *c.* 45. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαςον τύτων ὁμόκλησις γένηται τῆς τῦ βαπτιζομένυ ἱερέως τοιαύτη τὶς, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμεν@, ὡς Ἰεδαῖος· καὶ ἀποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τῦ σώματ@, ὁ δὲ ῥύπον τ ψυχῆς. For if ſome ſuch Prayer be not made by the Godly Miniſter at each of theſe, he that is to be Baptized, goes into the Water only as the *Jews*, and parts with only the Impurity of the Body, not the Impurity of the Soul.

By which we may diſcern, what was the freedom, as to Prayer at Baptiſm (and conſequently elſewhere) in thoſe times when he writ (probably about the latter end of the fifth, or the beginning of the ſixth Age) when Forms through neceſſity were growing more common. Prayers to the ſame effect

ſect would then ſerve the turn, as they now ſerve the Reformed Churches. He that appeared to the World about that time, in the vizard of Apoſtolical (*l*) Authority, would not by vertue thereof preſume to tie any, in adminiſtring Baptiſm, ſtrictly to one Form, any one Form of Words; No, not to thoſe Words, which he would have them believe, were formed by the Apoſtles themſelves. The Apoſtles, as he perſonates them, gave liberty to wave their own ſuppoſed Forms, and think it well enough, if Prayers to the ſame purpoſe be uſed inſtead thereof. In all probability, if this Actor had laid his Scene in places and times, where more reſtraint had been tolerable, he would have repreſented it otherwiſe.

But there needs no other evidence, for this liberty in Baptiſmal Prayers, to any who are willing to ſee, than that in *Auguſtin*, *de Bapt. contra Donat.* l. 6. c. 25. where, examining the Allegations of the ſeveral Biſhops in the Council under *Cyprian*, to *Sedatus* of *Tuburbis*, who pleads thus for the Rebaptizing of thoſe Baptized by Hereticks; *in quantum aqua, ſacerdotis prece, in eccleſia ſanctificata abluit peccata, in tantum Hæretico ſermone, velut cancere infecta, cumulat peccata*: As the Water, by the Prayer of the Prieſt, in the Church is Sanctified to the waſhing away of ſin; ſo by an Heretical Prayer, as by a Cancer, it is infected, to the increaſing of ſin.

Auguſtin Anſwers, *Si non ſanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precator effundit, multi non ſolum mali, ſed etiam boni fratres in ec-*

(*l*) Where he preſumes to ſay, τοῦτο περὶ τὴν μυσικὴν λατρείαν διατυπώσασθαι ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις, καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις, καὶ τοῖς διχόνοις, l. 8. c. 15.

cleſia

cleſia non ſanctificant aquam. If the Water be not Sanctified when he that Prayes, through unskilfullneſs, utters ſome erroneous words; then, not only many evil, but good Brethren, in the Church do not ſanctifie the Water. *Multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, ſi doctioribus fuerint recitatæ, & multa in iis reperiuntur contra Catholicam fidem.* For the Prayers of many are daily amended, if they be recited to the more Learned, and many things are found in them contrary to the Catholick Faith; (they were *vitioſæ preces, & in quibus aliquid perverſum*, as he afterwards.) Now ſuch prayers cannot be ſuppoſed to have been any common Forms, commanded, or uſed, much leſs preſcribed by the Church. The courſe taken to redreſs this, was not a total prohibition of the Prayers they had choſen; nor the tying of ſuch Miniſters to the uſe of any common Form; no nor the commending of any ſuch to their uſe: But (what divers Synods (of which before) had decreed) the Prayers, which ſuch indiſcreet perſons made choice of, being recited to the more learned, were by them amended, and the errors being left out, they are left to uſe them ſtill, (for the amending of them cannot be otherwiſe interpreted, than in order to future uſe:) And this courſe, as it is inconſiſtent with the impoſition of any ſet Forms, ſo it argues forcibly, the Churches then had not in the adminiſtration of Baptiſm, ſo much as any common Form in free uſe; otherwiſe, inſtead of daily trouble to others and themſelves, about correcting their very faulty Prayers; Why are not perſons ſo intolerably indiſcreet (who could not diſcern when a Prayer was Heretical) ſo much as adviſed to make uſe of the common Form? And finally, under what reſtraint

can any fancy the more diſcreet and learned to have been in Baptizing; when the weakeſt and moſt imprudent had ſo much liberty therein? Nothing needs be more manifeſt, than that neither the prudent nor indiſcreet, were then confined to preſcribed Forms in the Miniſtration of Baptiſm.

And thus we have made it ſufficiently evident, that in the Antient Church, the order for Adminiſtring the Sacraments (the Prayers eſpecially uſed in their Conſecration) were not preſcribed; nor the Adminiſtrators thereof under any ſuch reſtraint, as later and worſe times thought fit for them. I might indeavour to give the like ſatisfaction concerning other parts of Worſhip, which were Adminiſtred by Prayers; and might do it now with more eaſe than this already done. But it is not needful, ſince thoſe, who ſhew the greateſt paſſion for the Forms in queſtion, affirm, that in the Sacraments they were and are moſt neceſſary, and were firſt there uſed; and ſo muſt acknowledge, that when they were not in uſe there, they were no where uſed, nor any where counted needful: And beſides, this Diſcourſe grows long, (and ſo may be tedious) beyond what I expected or deſigned. I will therefore only add ſome few teſtimonies, which give evidence againſt ſuch Forms in general, and will reach the particulars, as therein involved; eaſing my ſelf and others thereby of a tedious and ſuperfluous labour.

Begin we with *Juſtin Martyr*, one of the firſt Writers left us of unqueſtioned credit, after the Apoſtles times: Who, *Apol.* 2. p. 139. hath theſe words, Ἄθεοι μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἐσμὲν, καὶ θνμικὸν τῶν τῆ πλάνῃ σεβόμενοι, ἀνενδεῆ αἱμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἀπλανέστατον λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' ὅσις προσφερόμεθα

ἐμιμεῖτο πάντων ὧν δύναμις αὐτῷ ἦν. "We are not Athe-
"ists since we worship the Maker of all things,
"affirming, as we are taught, that he hath no
"need of Blood, Drink-offerings, or Incense; in
"all our Oblations, with Prayer and Thanksgi-
"ving, according to our ability praising him. In
his time, they Prayed and gave Thanks according
to their ability. Now certainly, the
abilities of the Pastors, at least, of
those times, reached further without
stretching, than the reading or re-
citing of some Prayers, composed for them by
others. They were persons ordinarily of greatest
abilities amongst the Christians. When ordinary
Christians were superiour to the Pastors of after
times, they wanted not the knowledge of Divine
things, nor the sense of their Spiritual condition,
or their Peoples, nor a faculty to express tolerably
what they knew and felt. They were not besot-
ted by intemperance, nor had lost the use of their
faculties for want of exercise, nor were their gifts
shrivled up by a curse, because they did not im-
ploy them: They had ability to frame their own
Prayers, as well as to make their own Sermons;
and if they confined themselves to Prayers made by
others, they did not give Thanks and Pray, as the
Holy Martyr says they did, ὅση δύναμις, according
to their ability, or as they were able. The phrase
hath been sufficiently vindicated before; but be-
cause it here occurs again, let this be added for fur-
ther satisfaction. It is said, that it denotes not the
exercise of abilities for Prayer, but earnestness in
Praying, neither less nor more: But this is only
said, without any proof, without any instance where
it is so taken, either in *Justin Martyr*, or any o-

Chrysost. in Eph. Hom. 6. p. 792, 793.

ther. The beſt way to diſcern the import of it, will be to obſerve, how this and other of the ſame ſignification are uſed commonly in this or other Authors. Now Five hundred inſtances might be produced, wherein this expreſſion, and others of the ſame import, do clearly denote the exerciſe of abilities for the work, to which they are applied. I will but give a taſte hereof in a like caſe, *preaching* or *writing*, paſtoral works, as Prayer is. In *Juſtin Martyr*, where he ſays, they did (*m*) exhort the Brethren ὅση δυάμις, and when he tells *Trypho* he would make a collection of all the places of Scripture which concerned the *millennium*, he would make a (*n*) collection ὡς δυάμις μοῦ. In *Origen*, when he ſays, the Chriſtians inſtructed (*o*) many ὅση δυάμις, and what *Celſus* alledged he would examine κατὰ δύαμιν. So in (*p*) *Euſebius*, when he tells us, the Biſhops made panegyrical Orations ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυάμεως, & *de vit. Conſt.* l. 4. c. 29. Likewiſe in *Baſil*, when he ſpeaks of Praiſing *Gordius* κατὰ δύαμιν, forgetting his own (*q*) weakneſs,

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(*m*) Ὅση δυάμις προσηρεφάμεθα ὑμᾶς, &c. Apol. 2. p. 157.

(*n*) Τῶν γεγενημένων ἡμῖν λόγων ἀπάντων, ὡς δυάμις μοῦ συντάξιν ποιήσομαι, Dialog. cum *Typhon.* p. 88. edit. *Rob. Steph.* Lutet. an. 1551.

(*o*) Οὐδὲν δεῖν ἀληθῶς σέβοντες, καὶ πολλὰς ὅση δυάμις παιδεύοντες, contra Celſ. l. 8. p. 428. φέρε πάλιν κατὰ δύαμιν, αὐτῷ ἐξετάσωμεν ὅτως ἔχουσιν, id. ibid. p. 395. vid. p. 409, 410, 411. edit. *Cantabr.* an. 1656.

(*p*) Εκίνει δὲ καὶ λόγος ἅπας τοὺς παρόντων ἀρχόντων παιναγειακὰς, ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμεως, θεάζων τὴν παννυχείαν, Hiſt. l. 8. c. 3. vid. vit. *Conſt.* l. 4. c. 29. infra.

(*q*) Ἐκλαθομένους τὴν ἀσθενείας, δεῦρο δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ κατὰ δύαμιν φωνῇ ὅσον τινὲς ἄνθες τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἔργων ἐπεδραμόμεθα, Homil. in *Gord.* p. 204. edit. *Baſil.* an. 1551.

and

and ſays, he will explain (*r*) the words of the Apoſtle ὡς δωσετὸν, and that the impiety (he is mentioning) was elſewhere refuted κτ᾽ δώσαμιν, and that he had preached the day before καθ᾽ ὅσον ἰῶ δωσετόν. Alſo in (*ſ*) *Chryſoſtom*, when he ſays it was neceſſary he ſhould κτ᾽ δώσαμιν, diſcourſe of Prayer; and frequently (*t*) elſewhere.

(*r*) Ὡς δώσαλον μικρὸν ὕστερον δηγησόμεθα· λόγ. περὶ ευχαρις. p. 142. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κτ᾽ δώσαμιν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τὴν ἀσεβείας διελεγχθείσης, lib. de *Sp. Sancto*, c. 17. p. 264. Preached καθ᾽ ὅσον ἰῶ δωσετὸν, Hexaem. hom. 3. initio.

(*ſ*) Ἀναγκαῖον ἦ τὰ κτ᾽ δώσαμιν λέγειν περὶ τῆς παρόγμαθ, Tom. 6. p. 756. edit. *Savil.* & in *Philip.* Hom. 6. p. 34. in 2 *Tim.* p. 346. & Tom. 1. in *Gen.* p. 165. Hom. 17. initio. fin. Hom. 17. Hom. 25. Hom. 32. Hom. 48. Hom. 49, 117, 183, 254, 306, 452, 459, *&c.* εἰς δώσαμιν ἡμετέραν, 306. Hom. 38.

(*t*) Add that in *Cyprian*, *Propter hoc etiam libellum hunc de bono patientiæ quantum valuit noſtra mediocritas, permittente & inſpirante Domino, conſcripſimus*, Epiſt. ad *Fubaian.* and often, *pro noſtra mediocritate.*

And *Auguſtin*, *De quibus in aliis opuſculis, in quantum Domino adjuvante potuimus, ſatis nos diſſeruiſſe meminimus*, de peccat. orig. l. 2. c. 34. *Et hoc pro viribus ago*, contra Creſc. l. 1. c. 9. *Si autem miniſtri aſſint pro viribus quas eis Dominus ſubminiſtrat, omnibus ſubvenitur: alii baptizantur, alii reconciliantur, nulli dominici corporis communione fraudantur, omnes conſolantur, ædificantur, exhortantur, ut Deum rogent qui potens eſt omnia quæ timentur averiere, &c.* Epiſt. 180. Honorato, p. 928. edit. *Lugduni* an. 1561.

And that *Conſtantine* exhorted his Subjects, Ὅση πὲρ ἂν ἦ δώσαμις, to lead a pious Life, παρύτρεπε τε ὅση πὲρ ἂν ἦ δύναμις τὸν ὑγρὸν μεταδιώκειν βίον.

Athanaſius, about to give an account of Man's degeneracy, Πῶς ἦ κ᾽ ταῦτα πιεῖ ἔυλογον κτ᾽ δύναμιν σημάναι, contr. Onuleſ. p. 3.

And reciting too ſome paſſages of Scripture, ὀφείλωμ ὧν ἡμεῖς κτ᾽ τὸ δωσετὸν τὼ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσαδαι, *de natura human. ſuſcept.* Tom. 1. p. 465. init.

Maximus in *Athanaſ.* Tom. 2. ſays he had confuted Hereticks, Σωτόμως χ͂ι δυάμων ἀντείπονλες, p. 255.

Auguſtin, retract. l. 2. c. 1. in ſecund. libro *tractantur cæteræ quæſtiones, & pro noſtra quantulacunque facultate ſolvuntur*, p. 58.

It is evident, that in theſe paſſages, the phraſes ſignifie, they uſed their own abilities, judgment, invention, expreſſions; in preaching, expounding, diſputing, *&c.* And it would not be imagined, but that they denote the ſame when applyed to Prayer, in *Juſtin Martyr* and others, had not cuſtom ſetled another mode of Praying than was uſed in thoſe times, when abilities to Pray were counted a qualification as requiſite for a Paſtor, as ability to Preach; and more thought neceſſary to accompliſh a Miniſter for publick Prayer (ſo great a part of his work) than a Child is capable of.

Who ever imagined, that by writing ὅση δυάμις, or *pro viribus*, they meant no more, than the tranſcribing another man's Diſcourſe; or by expounding or preaching χ͂ι δυάμων, *&c.* no more was to be underſtood, than their reading or reciting another mans Sermon, *&c.* with what earneſtneſs ſoever? This would be no better, than to offer plain violence to their Words, and unpardonable injury to the Authors. And why is it not as intolerable, when they ſpeak of Praying ὅση δυάμις, to ſay they meant no more, than their reading or rehearſing another mans Prayers with all earneſtneſs; let thoſe who are not ἀπὸ πολλῆς κατεχόμενοι, judge.

Nay, it cannot be denied, but theſe phraſes do ſometimes denote, when applyed to Prayer or Thankſgiving, the Exerciſe of perſonal abilities for Prayer; as when *Chryſoſtom* tells us, in *Gen.* Hom. 26. that *Noah* gave Thanks τῷ χ͂ι δυάμιν ἐυχαριςίαν πεμπόμενος, (ſure it was in no Form compoſed

poſed for him by another) and then exhorts to imitate him; and in the application ſhews how, *viz.* taking account every day and hour, not only of Mercies common to others, but particular and perſonal; yea and thoſe which we obſerve not, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγνοοῦντες ἐυεργετέμεθα· (for all this could not be done in a ſtated Form) καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐυχαειςῶμεν *p.* 202. he adds, God made us rational, διὰ γὸ τοῦτο λογικοὶ, therefore he gave us faculties, Souls and Tongues, διὰ τοῦτο γὸ ϰ) ψυχὴν ἡμῖν ἐνέπνευσε καὶ γλώσσας ἐχαρίσατο, that he might be ſenſible of his favours, and ϰτι δώμεν ἐυχαειςίαν ἀναφέρωμεν, *p.* 203. And in the next *Homily* 27. we ſhould endeavour τὸ ϰτι δώμεν ἐυχαειςίαν ἀναφέρειν, having always his benefits in our minds (ἵνα ὑπὸ τ μνημῆς σωωθέντες that our memory may be helpful to us therein) tho' they be more than we can recount, πλέονα τὰ πλῆθος, &c. For who can (τί γὸ ἂν τις λογίσαιτο;) reckon up thoſe which we have, thoſe which are promiſed, and τὰ ϰαθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινόμενα, thoſe which we meet with every day, (ſo every day there's new matter of Thankſgiving) then enumerating abundance of particulars, *p.* 204, 205. and adding ſtill ἐν ἂν πότε δυνηθείημεν ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι, they can never be numbred. πῶς γὸ ἀνθρωπίνη γλῶτα δυνήσεται; how can any Tongue of Man expreſs them? πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔννοιαν ὑπερβαίνουσας, they tranſcend all human apprehenſion; yet will have us notwithſtanding, remember, conceive, reckon them up, and expreſs them as we are able, and would have us imploy mind, memory, tongue, all faculties, therein, as much as we can: for he adds again after all, we muſt τὸ ϰτι δυνάμει τὸ ἡμετέραν ἐυχαειςίαν ποιῆσαι, ſuch Thankſgivings are according to the abilities of him who offers them. And ϰτι δώμεν (which I proved before to be the

same with ὅση δύναμις) signifies that which is inconsistent with any confinement to a set Form, by our selves or others.

Basil also, giving directions how to Pray, premises, That there are two sorts or parts of Prayer, Thanksgiving or Praise of God with self abasement, and petition; then he adviseth to begin with the former, and therein to make choice of Scripture-expressions (ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίων γραφῶν ἐκλεγόμενον, which it seems was *Basil*'s Formulary) after he has given something by way of Example, he adds ὅταν δὲ δοξολογήσῃς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ὡς δύνασαι, when thou hast Praised him (with expressions selected) out of the Scriptures, as thou art able (or according to thy ability) the same phrase with ὅση δύναμις, and κατὰ δύναμιν, then begin with self abasement; in which, after thou hast been large (ὅταν ἐν ἀποδείξῃς λόγον ταπεινοφροσύνης, p. 555.) then proceed to Petition. There he would have him beware of Praying for the severals he mentions, but to seek that which is prescribed or enjoyned; not in any Liturgy (for if there had been such, these directions had been needless, and if they should, and might use no other, ridiculous (yet some Mens fancies are so strong, as to stretch these, even to private Devotions;) but in the Scripture, and the Words of Christ (*seek first the Kingdom of God*, &c.) ἀλλ' αὐτῆ καθὼς παρεστάχθης τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς ἐκείνων μόνον, and will have him careful in any wise, that his whole mind be (*u*) intent up-

ἀσκητικ. cap. 1. p. 554.

(*u*) *Ut collectis & congregatis intra se sensibus, oret Deum, non evagetur mente & cogitationibus evolet, ut ipsis Dei conspectibus,*

on

atque ineffabili illi lumini ſe intelligat aſſiſtentem, ibique orationes, & obſecrationes, poſtulationeſque, & gratiarum actiones ſuas profundat, nullius extrinſecus Phantaſiæ ſolicitatus imagine, Origen. vid. Dall. *de objecto cult.* p. 396.

on God, and him alone, and no where elſe (ὅλον ἢ νῦν πλαμβόν ἔχυσα πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μηδαμοῦ) which will be very hard for him, who, Praying in publick or private, hath his Book to mind.

By this we may alſo judge, what it is to Pray ὅση δύναμις, or which is all one ὡς δύασαι. And to add no more, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that there was any preſcribed Form of Prayer, for the Caſe which *Auguſtin* mentions, *viz.* (w) A Houſe poſſeſſed by the Devil; for the relief of which, he tells us, one of the Presbyters of *Hippo* Prayed, *quantum potuit*, a phraſe equivalent to ὅση δύναμις, and therefore it may be preſumed, he Prayed there according to his ability. And why ὅση δύναμις, in *Juſtin Martyr*, ſhould not ſignifie the ſame, as in theſe forementioned inſtances, and be rendred according to their abilities, ſo as their Prayers ſhould be underſtood to be the product of them; I can diſcern no reaſon at all, but becauſe they who deny it, are loth it ſhould be ſo.

Let us proceed; That of *Tertullian*, Apol. 1. c. 30. *ſine monitore, quia de pectore oramus*, hath

(w) *Vir Tribunitius Heſperius, qui apud nos eſt, in territorio Tuſſalenſi, fundum Zabedi appellatum, ubi cum afflictione animalium & ſervorum ſuorum, domum ſuam Spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperiſſet, rogavit noſtros, me abſente, Presbyteros, ut aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cujus orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi ſacrificium corporis Chriſti, orans quantum potuit, ut ceſſaret illa vexatio, &c.* Auguſt. *de civit. Dei*, l. 22. c. 8. p. 686. edit. *Lugdun.*

been

been pleaded by others, and not without reaſon. Biſhop *Hall* in Anſwering it, when he was concern'd to be moſt reſerved and cautious, ſo as to yield nothing, but what the words would extort, grants, The mode of Praying was not then under any ſuperiour injunction, and ſo not preſcribed. Biſhop *Bilſon* concluded from this paſſage (before it came into debate by the differing parties) that extemporary Praying was uſed in *Tertullian*'s time, *Chriſtian Subject. Part* 4. *p.* 617. rendering it without any (*x*) Prompter, as coming from the free motion of our own Hearts, and aſcribing it to the extraordinary gift of Prayer then continued. (How reaſonably may be conſidered elſewhere;) and this ſhews, it is not for want of evidence in the expreſſion, that this ſenſe of it is ſince rejected by his followers, but from ſomething elſe. I doubt not, but if it would have been ſerviceable another way, there would be no queſtion, but this was *Septimius*'s meaning, the Chriſtians did Pray without any ſuch Prompter, as the Heathen, becauſe their hearts were their Prompters: or, as Biſhop *Bilſon*, becauſe they Pray as their hearts move them. Prayers ſuggeſted to the Heathen by their Monitors, were ſuggeſted to the Chriſtians by their own hearts; they had not their Petitions out of a writing, but out of their own Breaſts.

The Gentiles Monitor, as *Rigaltius* on the place obſerves, did *præire preces de ſcripto*. Amongſt the *Greeks*, their Prayers were read out of a Book, as appears by *Apuleius*, deſcribing a great ſolemnity

(*x*) *Sine monitore*, not being urged by any ſuperiour injunction.

amongſt

amongſt them, where their Monitor, whom they called (*y*) *Grammatea*, from a high Pulpit, *de libro fauſta vota precatus*, Prayed out of a Book.

Amongſt the *Perſians*, *Pauſanias* repreſenting the rites of their *Pyretheia*, as they were uſed in *Hierocæſarea* and *Hypæpæ*, brings in the ἀνὴρ μάγος (*z*) (who was a Prieſt, a Sacred perſon amongſt them) thus Praying: (*a*) He coming into a place in the Temple, and having laid Wood on the Altar, firſt puts on his Sacred Habit, and then Prays to ſome God; and this Prayer he ſays ἐκ βιβλίου, out of a Book.

For the *Romans*, *Livy* tells us, *Numa* gave them in writing, all that belonged to their Worſhip; *eique* (*viz.* to *Marcus* the Chief Prieſt) *omnia ſacra exſcripta exſignataque attribuit*, Dec. 1. l. 1. p. 16. Upon ſpecial occaſions, the *Decemviri* tranſcribed their Prayers out of the Sibyls Books, (their extraordinary Ritual) *Dec.* 5. l. 1. p. 15. *Pacem Deorum peti precationibus, quæ edita ex fatalibus libris eſſent.* When they were diſtreſſed by *Han-*

(*y*) *Tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti Grammatea dicebant, pro foribus aſſiſtens, cœtu Paſtophorum* (*quod ſacroſancti collegii nomen eſt*) *velut in concionem vocato, indidem de ſublimi ſuggeſtu, de libro, de literis fauſta vota*, præfatus *Apuleius* metamorph. l. 11. p. 204.

(*z*) Θεολόγος in Heſychius, μάγον τὸν θεοσεβῆ καὶ θεολόγον καὶ ἱερέα λέγουσι, Phavorinus.

(*a*) Εἰσέλθων ἐς τὸ ὄικημα ἀνὴρ μάγος, καὶ ξύλα ἐπιθεὶς βωμοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν πάσσεται ἐπίθεσιν ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν· δεύτερα δὲ ὀπίσω. ὕστερα δὲ θεῶν ἐπόδεται βάρβαρα, καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς συνέλαε ἕλλησιν· ἐπάδει δὲ ὀπλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου, Pauſan. *lib.* 1. Eliacor.

Ammianus Marcellinus, Hiſt. l. 23. c. 8. The *Magus* by a ſet Form of Prayer——

nibal

nibal, ſending *Fabius*'s Picture to *(b) Delphos*, *Apollo Pythius* preſcribed them a Liturgy in Writing; which he returning, recited out of that Writing; in which was contained, what Gods they ſhould ſupplicate, and in what mode; and the Senate injoyned an accurate obſervance of it. When *Scipio Æmilianus* was *(c) Cenſor*, the Scribe (their Prompter) at a Luſtration, reads the uſual Prayer, *Ex publicis tabulis*; *Scipio* miſliking an expreſſion therein, alters it, and orders the alteration to be made in the publick Writing, out of which it was to be read; and ſo reforms their Common Prayer Book.

Thus were the Devotions of the Heathen regulated; but the Chriſtians, ſays *Tertullian*, (deſcribing them in oppoſition to the *Gentiles*) had no ſuch Monitor, did need no ſuch Prompter; their Prayers are not *de Scripto*, but *de Pectore*. In Anſwer to this, thus much is granted, That the Chriſtians in thoſe times prayed without Book; and ſo it is acknowledged, that thoſe who read their publick Prayers out of a Book, are therein nothing like the Antient Chriſtians, but more reſemble the Pagans in that mode of Praying, for which *Tertullian*

(*b*) Q. Fabius Pictor, *Legatus a Delphis Romam rediit, reſponſumque ex ſcripto recitavit; Divi quoque in eo erant, quibus, quoque modo ſupplicaretur.* Dec. 3. l. 3. p. 64.

(*c*) *Qui Cenſor, cum luſtrum auderet, inque ſolito fieri ſacrificio, ſcriba ex publicis tabulis ſolenne ei precationis carmen præiret, quo Dii immortales, ut populi Romani res meliores ampliore ſque facerent, rogabantur: ſatis inquit bonæ ac magnæ ſunt; itaque precor ut eas perpetuo incolumes ſervent. Ac protinus in publicis tabulis, ad hunc modum carmen emendari juſſit.* Valer. Max. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 191.

here

here derides them. This cannot be denied, it ſeems; yet, which is the only ſhift left them, *de Pectore*, they will have to be no more than ſaying their Prayers by heart.

But this is not to Pray *de Pectore*, but *de Memoria*, not as their heart moves and prompts them, but as their memory ſerves them.

And this ſuppoſes, that in thoſe times they had written Liturgies, and were wont to get their Prayers by heart; for which they ſhould produce ſome expreſſion, or intimation, or ſhew of proof, from ſome credible Author of that Age, before they take it for granted. I have yet ſeen no proof of it, and I am confident never ſhall.

Certainly, it was a hard task (and required ſo good a memory, as all cannot be ſuppoſed to have had, who were imployed therein) to get all the Prayers they then uſed by heart. Since the Chriſtians then continued, and principally in Prayer, ſometimes Nine hours (and this twice every Week) in their (*d*) Stations; ſometimes Twelve

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(*d*) *Jam horum conventuum proprius ac præcipuus finis erat oratio, atque deprecatio, unde factum, ut ſtationes dicerentur, quod* עמורה *ſtatio Hebræis ſit oratio.* Dall. *de jejuniis*, l. 4. cap. 5. ex *J. Capell.*

They began at Sun-riſing, *Statim ab exortu ſolis.* Rigalt. *obſ. ad* Tertull. *id. orat.* p. 43.

Their Stations were continued till 3 Afternoon, Τελεῖδαι καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, Epiph. expoſ. fid. p. 110. others longer, *arguunt nos, quod ſtationes plerumque in veſperam producamus*, Tertull. *de jejun.* c. 14.

Their Faſts till 6 Afternoon, Τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀναμένειν εἰς μετάληψιν, Baſil. *de jejun.* λόγ. α. p. 133.

Diebus atque noctibus jugiter & inſtanter oramus, propitiantes Deum, Cypr. *inſiſtamus per totam diem precibus, & oremus.* Idem.

hours,

hours, as at their Fasts, besides what were usual at their Vigils, Festivals, and Lords-days Assemblies, at their Baptizings, Ordinations, reconciling Penitents, and other occasions; all requiring variety of Prayers.

And who can believe, their Pastors were then limited to written Forms in Praying, when the ordinary sort of Christians were not tied to any Forms at all in Singing? There seems more reason for a restraint in Hymns, than in supplications; and those who are earnest for liberty in the latter, are well enough content to be confined to Scripture-Forms in the former. It's evident by *Tertullian*, that in his time, Christians had the liberty in their Church-Assemblies, to choose either such Hymns as they collected out of the Scripture, or such as were of their own conception. So he tells us, describing their Love-Feasts; at which we are told, the Eucharist was Celebrated, *Post aquam manualem, & lumina, ut quisque de Scriptura, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere*, *Apol.* cap. 39. 9. And these, if we believe *Grotius*, extemporary (*e*) Hymns, and such used by others, both before, and after those times.

Thorndike Serv. p. 293.

It is excepted, that *Tertullian*, in the place we have insisted on, speaks of private Devotions: But if they will have it of private only, any that considers

(*e*) *Non solebant pro re nata extempore hymnos quos* מדרוש *vocant, effundere Hebræi* —— *nec dubito quin & hoc canendi genus vel præcipue commendat Paulus*, Eph. 5. 9. Col. 3. 16. *Mansit diu is mos in ecclesia vetere*, Tertullianus *meminit*, & Plinius, &c.

the

the words, will ſee it evidently miſtaken, *Illuc ſuſpicientes Chriſtiani, manibus expanſis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubeſcimus.* He ſhews Chriſtians were unlike the Pagans, in their mode of Praying, for ſuch reaſons, as would not admit them to be alike any where, either in private or publick; ſince they thought themſelves concerned to ſignifie, they were more innocent, and leſs conſcious of what was ſhameful, than the Heathen, as well in publick as in private.

This manner of Praying was continued in the following Age, as is evident in *Origen*, who declares it both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches, which divided betwixt them the whole Chriſtian World. They Prayed in his time, not only in their own Language, but alſo according to their ability, Οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἑλληνικοῖς, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ ὅσας ἴσας & κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτῶν διάλεκτον εὐχέσθαι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς δύνασθαι. The *Grecians* in *Greek*, the *Romans* in *Latin*; and ſo every one in his own dialect, Prays to God, and Praiſes him, as he is able. *Precantur Deum, & celebrant pro viribus.* The moſt learned and judicious, that have appeared in this Queſtion for preſcribed Liturgies, do yield, that if ὅση δύναμις in *J. Martyr* were duly rendred *according to his ability*, and be of the ſame import with κατὰ δύναμιν, then the Prayers there mentioned were ſuch as we ſay, *viz.* the iſſue of the Adminiſtrators abilities, not formed for him, nor impoſed on him by others. Now ὡς δύνασθαι, in *Origen*, is exactly correſpondent to, and of the very ſame ſignification with, κατὰ δύναμιν: nor can it be better rendered than by, *according to his ability*, or which is all one, *as he is able*; and therefore,

Contr. Celſ. l. 8. p. 402.

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fore, that those Prayers mentioned in *Origen* were such, may be taken for granted; and those also which we find in the same Book, *p.* 386. where the expression is of the same sense, but comes nearer to the Form and sound of the other, which they yield is for us, Τὸν ἕνα θεὸν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον καὶ εἰκόνα, ταῖς τε τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἱκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σὺν δεόμεθα προσαγόντες τῷ διὰ τοῦ ὅλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ, that one God, and his only Son both in Word and Image, we worship with Prayers, according to our ability, and honours, offering Prayers unto the God of the Universe, by his only Begotten. It is acknowledged, by the most zealous Friends of these Liturgies, that in the Apostolical times, there was a δύναμις, χάρισμα εὐχῆς, an ability or gift of Prayer, inabling those who had it, to conceive their Prayers themselves; and the exercise of this gift or ability, in the New Testament, is προσεύχεσθαι ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, *Jude*, *v.* 20. and ἐν πνεύματι, *Eph.* 6. 18. But this, so expressed, they will have to have been an extraordinary and miraculous gift, as those of healing, prophesying, tongues, *&c.* Now the former (that there was a gift of Prayer) we acknowledge with them; but the latter (that it was extraordinary and miraculous) should not be granted without proof, being also inconsistent with other principles equally acknowledged, and with those Scriptures too now alledged. Not to take notice, that the gift of Prayer is not reckoned amongst those that were miraculous, where we have a particular account of them, *Mark ult.* 1 *Cor.* 12. 8, 9, 10. 1 *Cor.* 14.

D. H. in Jud. 20.

D. H. 586. 385.

It is granted by them, that, as all extraordinary gifts were not conferred upon any one Person, except the Apostles; so no

no one gift was conferred upon all; this is plain in the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 12. 8, 9, 10, 11. particularly this gift of Prayer, is asserted to have been bestowed upon some one of the multitude, ἤρξατο χάρισμα ἐυχῆς εἰς ἕνα τινὰ ἦν τότε. So in *Ro.* 8. *Chrysost.* (whom alone, amongst the Antients, they have to alledge for it, as an extraordinary grace:) But all the believing *Hebrews* (all that are sanctified, to whom *Jude* writ, *ver.* 1.) are required to exercise this gift: (προσευχόμενοι ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ) and all the converted Gentiles at *Ephesus* to whom *Paul* writ, are exhorted by him, to exercise it, *Eph.* 6. 18. (and all other Christians in them, if those Epistles be of general concernment.) Now it could not be their Duty to exercise it, if they had it not; and if they all had it, it was an ordinary gift, and continued to the Church in all Ages. And so *Origen*, in reference to this gift or ability, might well say, every one Prayed, ὡς δύναται, and κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, according to his ability: However, he that was able to conceive a Prayer himself, yet made use of Prayers formed by others, did not Pray as he was able.

Proceed we to the times (*f*) following: *Basil*

(*f*) *Athanasius* was exercised with more conflicts than others: *Theodoret* calls him elegantly, ὁ πένταθλος τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνίσης. After many before, he meets with a new incounter in *Julian*'s time; of which that Historian gives this account, οὐκ ἐνεχώρησε τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰ θαύματα γλωττης καὶ προσευχῆς ἰσχύν, lib. 3. cap. 8. The Devils not able to indure the power of *Athanasius*'s Preaching and Praying; so that they could less bear his Prayer and Preaching, than that of others, and therefore they raised him more troubles than others met with.

Now, if his Preaching had been but the Reading of the ſame Homilies which others Read, who could give a reaſon from thence, why Satan ſhould not indure it in him, as well as in others? So, if his Praying had but been the Reading of the ſame Prayers that others did Read, no account can be given, why the Devils ſhould be more troubled at his Praying, than of the reſt. The ordinary Deacons or Readers at *Alexandria*, and elſewhere, could read a Prayer as well as he. Certainly his power in Preaching, was ſomething elſe, than his reading another Mans Sermons; and was his power in Praying, no more than his reading another Mans Prayers? One would think it could denote no leſs, than that he had a more powerful (way or) faculty in Preaching and Praying.

And if it be ſaid, that this lay only in his more devout or earneſt reading, *&c.* *Anſ.* If the diſintereſſed can be ſatisfied, that his powerful faculty, in Preaching, was but his fervency in reading other mens Sermons; I ſhall not contend, but that his powerful faculty in Praying, might be no more, than his devout reading of other mens Prayers.

Athanaſius himſelf ſhews us, that Prayers were not then had from Prayer-Books, and preſcribed Forms, when he tells us, *mens orationis fons eſt.*

in the beginning of his Tract *de Spiritu Sancto*, tells *Amphilochius*, that he lately Praying with the People, and concluding his Prayers with a Doxology, uſed variety of expreſſions therein; (ſometimes *to* the Father *with* the Son, together *with* the Holy Ghoſt; ſometimes *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghoſt) and that offence was taken at one mode of his, expreſſing it, Περσυχρωδύρμαι πρώην ὅτι τὸ λαὸν ἐμποδὼν ἐποιήσατο τῆς δοξολογίας ἀναπληροῦντι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, νῦν μὲν σὺν τῷ υἱῷ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐπίσκοποι, τίνες τῶν παρόντων ξενιζόμενοι ἡμᾶς φωναῖς κεχρῆσθαι λέγουσιν, *cap.* 1. *p.* 248. Hence it appears, *Baſil* was not, would not be limited to the ſame words, in any the leaſt part of publick Prayers, not in one clauſe, ſo ſhort a clauſe, not in the concluſion

Hook. pol. l. 5. §. 42.

cluſion of a Prayer, where thoſe, who vary in other parts, many times agree; not in a Doxology, where, thoſe that are for more liberty elſewhere, can be content with leſs. He varies in this once and again, in ſeveral Prayers, and none of his variations fall in with the uſual mode, (*to* the Father, *and* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghoſt); nor did the fear of offence reſtrain him from uſing this liberty.

Now, if in ſuch circumſtances he would not be confined, in the part of a Prayer, to the invariable uſe of ſo ſhort a clauſe, as the half of the Doxology now uſed; would he be confined (*g*) himſelf, or confine others to the invariable uſe of whole Prayers? No, it is hereby evident, his times knew no ſuch bonds; he uſed expreſſions, as to his Auditory ſeemed ſtrange and unuſual, which the words of a Common-Prayer Book could not have been.

Auguſtin, giving directions, how the *Catechumens* are to be inſtructed, adviſeth the Catechiſts (*Deo gratias* particularly) to accomodate themſelves to their ſeveral capacities; and when they are to

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(*g*) *Qui loquendi arte cæteris hominibus excellere videntur*, but not to be reckoned *inter illos doctiſſimos, quorum mens magnarum rerum eſt exercitata quæſtionibus.*

Diſcant non contemnere, quos cognoverint morum vitia, quam verborum, amplius devitare, id. ibid. p. 329. *His enim maxime utile eſt noſſe, ita eſſe præponendas verbis ſententias, ut præponitur animus corpori*, id. p. 330.

Baſil, In Praying publickly, uſed ξενιζουσις φωναις, ſtrange or unuſual expreſſions, which could not be the words of a Common-Prayer Book, of ordinary, tho' free uſe, much leſs of one preſcribed and injoyned to be conſtantly, and unvariably uſed. If there had been any ſuch, you will not think, but *Baſil* would have been confined to them; but he is far from it, he would not be limited to the ſame words.

deal with thoſe of ſome learning and eloquence, to let them underſtand, that God minds not ſo much the expreſſions, as the inward affection; *ita enim non irridebunt, ſi aliquos Antiſtites & miniſtros eccleſiæ forte animadverterint, vel cum barbariſmis & ſolœciſmis Deum invocare*, de Catechiz. rudib. cap. 9. p. 330. Tom. 4. *pars poſter.* So they will not jeer, if perhaps they take notice, that ſome Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church, do invocate God with Barbariſms and Soleciſms. Prayers, wherein there were Barbariſms and Soleciſms, none will imagin them to have been preſcribed by the Church; yet ſuch were the Prayers both of Biſhops and Miniſters, in *Auſtin*'s time.

Socrates, who lived in the middle of the Fifth Century, (*b*) and whoſe Hiſtory reaches *an.* 439. gives us an account of the variety then uſed in Prayers, altogether inconſiſtent with any common

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(*b*) *Antonius* of *Valentia*, a Dominican (in the Council of *Trent*) ſaid that it was plain, by all Hiſtory, that antiently every Church had her particular Ritual of the Maſs, brought in by uſe, and upon occaſion, rather than by deliberation and decree; and that the ſmall Church did follow the Metropolitan, and the greater, which were near. The *Roman* rite hath been, to gratifie the *Pope*, received in many Provinces, tho' the Rites of many Churches are ſtill moſt different from it, *&c.* And that of *Rome* alſo hath had great alterations, and the true *Roman* rite, not that which is now obſerved by the Prieſts in that City, *&c. Hiſt. of the Counc. of Trent*, l. 6. p. 548, 549.

Prayers in end of Antient Councils not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite ſome Biſhops.

In *Trent*, not giving way to the extemporary Spirit of any, but repeating it out of a paper, *ibid.* p. 813.

Vid. Auguſtini retractat. l. 2. c. 20. of varieties in Sacraments, *nec tamen commemorari omnia potuerunt.*

preſcribed

preſcribed Liturgy, *l.* 5. *c.* 21. *p.* 698. Καθόλου, μάλιστα παντάχοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἅπασαις ἐκκλησίαις τῆς οἰκουμένης οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἀλλήλοις συμφωνούσας δύο ὅλας τὸ αὐτό. Generally, in any place whatſoever, and amongſt all (the ſorts of) Worſhippers, there cannot two be found agreeing to uſe the ſame Prayers. Now where there was diverſity of Prayers every where, How could there be the uſe of one common Liturgy? where there was no *συμφωνία*, no agreement or concurrence, in uſing the ſame Prayers in any place; How could there be one preſcribed model? when there could not be found two, any where, uſing the ſame Prayers; Where were they to be found, that uſed the ſame Service-Book?

For the *Weſt*, we may underſtand by *Innocent*'s Epiſtle to *Decentius* formerly alledged, how far they were in the ſame Age, from being confined to one Form of Church-Service; when he tells us, every one celebrated, as pleaſed him.

And long after this, ſomething of the Antient liberty is diſcernable, in the ſeveral Countries, which was retained in ſome of them, even after the impoſing Spirit was rouzed and active. And by the remaining ruins, we may gueſs what it was, when it ſtood intire. At the time, when the Fourth Council of *Toledo* was held, *an.* 633. the *Spaniſh* Churches were not ſubject (tho' forwarder for ſuch ſubjection than others) to impoſed orders, for one Form of Worſhip; no not in the Sacraments. Even theſe in the ſaid Churches, were celebrated in various modes, and in ſome of them unduely; as is expreſſed in the Preface to that Synod, *In ſacramentis divinis, quæ diverſo atque illicito modo in Hiſpaniarum Eccleſiis celebrantur.* *Crab.* Tom. 2. p. 196.

In *France* (*i*) they had Books for publick Service, in the Eighth Century; yet were they uſed at the diſcretion of thoſe that officiated, who added or left out, what they thought fit; till *Charlemaine*, in the beginning of the Ninth Age, would have them reformed after the *Roman* guiſe; *unuſquiſque pro arbitrio ſuo vitiaverat, vel addens vel minuens.*

And in *Germany*, long after *Boniface* had been ſtickling to reduce it to the *Roman* uniformity, the whole Country was ſo far from ſubmitting to any one preſcibed order of Service, that in one (*k*) Dioceſs there were various modes of adminiſtring, particularly in that of *Colen.* And (*l*) *Bruno*, Biſhop there in the middle of the Tenth Age, was indeavouring to reform this, as Church-matters, in thoſe days, were wont to be reformed; *diverſitatem ſacra peragendi in ſua provincia corrigens, ac ut eadem ubique eſſet ratio conſtituens.*

And in *Ireland*, (with which the *Britans* and *Scots* ſymbolized) we ſhewed before, out of the

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(*i*) *Percipiens de omnibus civitatibus* Franciæ *Magiſtros Scholæ, antiphonarios eis ad corrigendum tradere, & ab iis diſcere cantare: correcti ſunt ergo Antiphonarii Francorum, quos unuſquiſque pro arbitrio ſua vitiaverat, vel addens vel minuens, & omnes* Franciæ *cantores didicerunt formam Romanam, Chron. Engoliſmenſe in Morn.* de *miſſ.* l. 1. c. 8. p. 224.

(*k*) *Decret. Greg.* (3. q.) tit. 31. *de offic.* jud. ord. cap. 14. *Quoniam in pleriſque partibus intra eandem Civitatem atque Diœceſim, permixti ſunt populi diverſarum linguarum, habentes ſub una fide varios ritus & mores: diſtricte præcipimus, ut Pontifices hujuſmodi civitatum ſive Diœceſium provideant viros idoneos, qui ſecundum diverſitatem rituum & linguarum, divina illis officia celebrent, & eccleſiaſtica ſacramenta miniſtrent.*

(*l*) *Rotger.* vit. *Brunonis, apud Surium.* Oct. 11. obiit an. 965.

great

great *Uſher*, That till the Twelfth Century, no one general Form of Service was retained; but divers rites and manners of Celebration were obſerved, till the *Roman* uſe was brought in, by the Popes Legates.

So that all along it is manifeſt, the uniformity aimed at, in the common preſcribed Liturgies, was only the iſſue and darling of late, dark and degenerate times; an innovation upon the Churches uſages, in better times, and an invading of her Antient Liberty; for which the Biſhops of *Rome* were the greateſt Zealots, deſigning therein the ſubjection of all other Churches to that of *Rome*; and gaining thereby, both an acknowledgment of the Papal Authority, from thoſe who ſubmitted to this Yoke, and an advantage of diffuſing the Poyſon of her Superſtitions, through the body of the Weſtern Empire, where uniformity in Liturgy and Rituals, became a chief part of the uniform Apoſtaſie of the latter times.

Thus we have gone through the diſadvantages, of proving a (*m*) Negative: Let us now ſee, how they acquit themſelves, upon whom the proof lies; affirming, That the Liturgies they contend for, have been ever, from the beginning. And here, if any where, it would be an eaſie matter, to give the

(*m*) *Parker* of Cr. l. 2. p. 125.
Cum per rerum naturam factum negantis probatio nulla ſit. decret. p. 2. cauſ. 6. q. 5. c. 2.
Doth your diſcretion ſerve you to put us to prove the Negative? you cannot prove they had, and that is cauſe ſufficient for us to avouch they had not, *Bilſ. apol.* c. 4. p. 351.

World abundant ſatisfaction, that what they aſſert is true, if indeed it were ſo: He that takes notice, what clear and full evidence may be eaſily had, from the Writers of ſome one Country, in a part of the laſt Age, for preſcribed Liturgies; or what convincing and unanſwerable proof may be brought for them, from the few Writers, which were in part of the Eighth or Ninth Centuries, when they had got place in the World; may juſtly expect, that, from that multitude of writings, in thoſe many Ages, which this queſtion concerns; ſuch ample and evident teſtimony, for impoſed Forms, would be found by thoſe who have laboured for it, as would have no place for the leaſt doubt, but there were ſuch in uſe all along, if they had been really, as is pretended, the uſage of the Churches, from the Apoſtles times. And if no ſuch thing be produced, by thoſe, whoſe intereſt led them to ranſack all antiquity for it; even this, if there were no more, will be a convincing argument, that the antient Church had no ſuch Cuſtom. Let us then view, what the learned Advocates for theſe Liturgies, have collected out of the Antients, and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the World, in this point; and impartially examin, whether it amount to ſuch proof, as may be reaſonably looked for in thoſe circumſtances, or whether it came not ſhort of any juſt and competent proof at all.

Clemens Alexandrinus is one of the antienteſt Authors produced for this purpoſe; and he in theſe words, *Strom.* 7. Τὸ ἄθροισμα ἅμα ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακιρνώντων μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τῶν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην, thus rendred, *The Congregation addicted to their Prayers, having as it were, one mind, and one voice common to all.* Now (ſays my Author) a Congregation

gation cannot have one voice in their Prayers, without a ſet Form for them to joyn in. But this is very ſtrange and myſterious; I had thought, as others do, that the Congregation had one voice, in reſpect of the Miniſter ſpeaking in their ſtead, one for all, and therefore accounted the κοινὴ φωνὴ, the mouth of the People in Praying, (as when he Preaches in the name of Chriſt, he is χειρὶ τῦ Χεις̃ῦ, in *Clemens*'s ſtile, *Strom.* or στόμα τῦ Χεις̃ῦ, as *Baſil* calls *Nazianzen*, Ep. 141. Now who can imagin, why he ſhould not be their mouth, in uttering a conceived Prayer, as well as in reading a Prayer out of a Book. He had told us immediately before (and it is generally, by thoſe of his perſwaſion acknowledged) that while the gift of Prayer laſted, *viz.* in the Apoſtolical Age, there was no Form ſetled; and therefore, if the People cannot have one voice in their Prayers, without a ſet Form; an Apoſtle, or other primitive Miniſter, Praying with a Congregation (ſince he uſed no ſet Form) was not their mouth; nor did any Church Pray with one voice, all that Age.

L'Eſtr. allianc. of Lit. cap. 1. p. 19.

As inſufficient for this purpoſe, is that of *Tertullian*, Apol. c. 39. *Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro Miniſtris eorum ac poteſtatibus, pro ſtatu ſeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.* And that of *Cyprian*, Epiſt. ad *Demetr. Pro arcendis hoſtibus, & imbribus impetrandis, & vel auferendis vel temperandis adverſis, rogamus ſemper & preces fundimus: & pro pace ac ſalute veſtra, &c.* And that of *Baſil*, Epiſt. 141. (which, tho' in the Age following, we joyn with theſe, becauſe of the ſame import.) A friend of his, gone to Travel, had written to him, that he would be mindful of him in his Prayers;

Prayers; to whom his Anſwer is this, ὅτι ἀληθῶς σὺ σύ, &c. "To forget thee in my Prayers is impoſ-
"ſible, for thou remembereſt, ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλη-
"σίᾳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πάντας, &c. that in the Church we
"make Prayers for all our Brethren that travel,
"for all that are inrolled Soldiers, for all that con-
"feſs freely the name, for all that bring forth Spi-
"ritual fruits, &c. *Anonym. Uſe of daily publick Prayers, p.* 6. 8.

Here is, in theſe ſeverals, ſome account for what, and for whom they Prayed; but not a ſyllable to ſignifie, that they did it in ſet or preſcribed Forms. If thoſe that Pray without ſuch Forms, were to give an account of the ſcope and import of their uſual Prayers, and to expreſs for what perſons and things they ordinarily do pray; they would do it in ſuch terms, as might be as juſt a ground for our Author's inference, as any alledged. Indeed, theſe allegations are ſo far from proving an impoſed Liturgy, with ſet Forms of Prayer; that they do not prove ſo much as a Directory: For, in that which was compoſed for theſe Nations, we have more than the Perſons for whom, and the things for which we ſhould Pray; yet no more is ſpecified in, or can be collected from any, or all the places now mentioned. I dare offer many more, of this nature, to any judicious Eye, without fear that he will ſee any ſuch thing therein, as the producer of theſe three would fain have ſeen. Let him that is minded, look *Cyril Catech.* 5. *Tertull. Apol.* cap. 30. *Chryſoſt.* in 1 *Tim.* p. 271. and in 2 *Cor.* p. 557. and *Hilary* —— in *Cant.* 4. p. 414. Author *de vocat. Gent.* l. 1. c. 12. p. 798. *Cœleſtin.* Epiſt. in *Proſper.* p. 894. pro *Proſper.* & *Hilario.* cap. 11.

The

The ſame Author thinks he hath diſcovered a Church Common-Prayer Book in *Origen*; but without any ground at all, ſave his deſire to diſcover one ſo Antient: his words are, "*Origen*, in "his Fourth Book againſt *Celſus*, quotes Three or "Four ſeveral paſſages of Scripture, out of their "εὐχαὶ, or Prayers; by Prayers meaning, that "which the *Grecians* now call their *Euchologium*, or "Prayer-Book. But if he had conſulted a little more with *Origen*, he might have diſcerned, that by εὐχαὶ he means the Pſalter, or Pſalms of *David*, and no other Church Service Book, beſides the Scripture. For, in that Book againſt *Celſus*, quoting any paſſage out of the *Pſalms*, he ſays, ſo it is found ἐν εὐχῇ, ſo *lib.6. p.285. edit. Cantabr.* 1658. where alledging, *Pſ.* 130. *v.* 1, 2, 3. he ſays, λέλεκται ἐν εὐχῇ, it is ſaid in the Prayer, κύριε, οὐκ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, &c. *Lord, my heart is not lifted up*, &c. So alledging *Pſ.* 50. 10. διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀπτιμάτως εὐχομένου, therefore it is ſaid of him, Praying underſtandingly, *viz.* the Pſalmiſt, καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὁ Θεὸς, *create in me, O God, a clean heart*, lib. 7. p. 354. So *lib.* 4. *p.* 178. ὕμνους ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς εὔσεμνον δεῖν τὸ λέγειν φρονοῦντα, who find in the Prayers what the prudent ought to ſay, ὅτι τοῦ ἐλέους κυρίου πλήρης ἡ γῆ, that *the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord*; which, being found in two *Pſalms*, 33. 5. and 119. 64. may be the reaſon he quotes it in the plural ἐν εὐχαῖς. And this may be the place my Author intends; for he had not the confidence to tranſcribe it, nor direct particularly to it; having, it's like, no hopes that any, whoſe fancy was not deeply tinctured with his conceits of ſuch Liturgies, looking upon the place, would miſtake the Pſalms of *David*, for a Greek Prayer Book

Origen

Origen is again produced by him; *Who*, ſays he, *gives this deſcription of a true Chriſtian*, Οἱ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ὅλῃ πάσῃ θεραπεύοντες θεῷ, καὶ βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ταῖς προσηυχημέναις τε εὐχαῖς σωνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως, νύκτωρ καὶ ἡμέρας χρωμένοι (*lib.* 6. againſt *Celſ.*) that is, as he renders it; "They that ſerve the God of all, "through Chriſt, and live according to his Goſ-"pel; who alſo frequently and duly, both night "and day, uſe thoſe Prayers that are (preſcribed, "as he will have it, or, which is all the word im-"ports) Commanded. There needs not many words, to ſhew the impertinency and unſerviceable-neſs of this paſſage, for the purpoſe, for which it is alledged; when it appears, (*n*) that thoſe were not private Prayers, which were to be put up night and day, at any hour of either. And 2. That there are no Prayers Commanded, but in ſet Forms; or that, if it had been προσηυχημέναις ὁμιλίαις, any one would have underſtood thereby, preſcribed and ſet Forms of Sermons; And 3. That there are no Commands for frequent Praying, but humane inventions or preſcriptions: Then this allegation may be thought pertinent, and further conſidered; but the producer of it would not judge it worthy ſo much, profeſſing his diſtruſt of its ſufficiency to prove what he deſires; *Yet I profeſs*, ſaith he, *I do not alledge this paſſage, as an infallible proof, becauſe I know the word* προσηυχημέναις *may be alſo otherwiſe Interpreted.* If he had ſaid, the word,

(*n*) The ſame *Origen* in *Gen.* Hom. 10. *Sine intermiſſione orandum, Apoſtolus præcipit: vos qui ad orationes non convenitis, quomodo impletis ſine intermiſſione, quod ſemper omittitis?*

when

when applyed to Prayers, in *Origen*, or any near his time, could never be but otherwiſe interpreted, he had ſpoke with more ingenuity, and no leſs truth.

Another place in (o) *Origen* is more commonly inſiſted on, *viz.* in *Homil.* 11. upon *Jeremy*; and for impoſed Forms, they argue from the mode of an expreſſion there, which, what it was in *Origen*, no man can tell; ſince in thoſe *Latin* commentaries, we never have his words, and can never know (as his Tranſlators have uſed him) when we have his ſenſe, or whether we read him or them. However, theſe are the words alledged, *Ubi frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da omnipotens, da nobis partem cum Prophetis, da cum Apoſtolis Chriſti tui, tribue ut inveniamur ad veſtigia unigeniti tui*; "When "we often ſay in Prayer, Grant Almighty, grant "us a lot with thy Prophets, with the Apoſtles "of thy Chriſt, give us that we may be found at "the ſteps of thy only Son. Here it is preſumed, that theſe are *Origen*'s words, and not his Tranſlators; and that the Form of his expreſſion (on which alone the reaſoning is grounded) is exactly and faithfully transferred to us, by thoſe who declare they uſed no ſuch exactneſs or faithfulneſs in reading him. It is preſumed alſo, that, this was his meaning, that they frequently uſed, not only thoſe Petitions, but in thoſe very words, which there is no need we ſhould grant: Yet if all theſe

(o) *Satis conſtat, Origenis, quæ latine tantum extant, a Ruffino & aliis interpretibus ita fuiſſe interpolata, ut ex iis vix poſſit certo intelligi, quid vere ſit Origenianum*, Dall. de lib. *ſuppoſ.* Dionyſ. &c. l. 2. c. 34. p. 440.

were

were yielded, no more can hence be concluded, than what is common with thoſe who Pray *Extempore*, *viz.* That they often in Prayer, preferred one or two Petitions, in the ſame words. Or, if I ſhould grant, that this was a Form of Prayer, when there is nothing to perſwade it, more than that the Apoſtles was a ſet Form, *Eph.* 1. 16, 17, 18, *&c.* (ὁ πάντοτε παυόμαι there being no leſs than frequenter here) yet what ſhadow of a proof is there, that it was a preſcribed Form?

2 *Theſſ.* 1. 11, 12.

Another very learned man thinks there is ſufficient evidence for the Forms in queſtion, from one or two words (*Dominica ſolennia*;) in *Tertullian*, *de anima*, cap. 9. But what *Tertullian* means by thoſe *ſolennia*, himſelf particularly declares in the ſame place; *Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Pſalmi canuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, aut allocutiones proferuntur, ita inde viſionibus materia ſubminiſtrantur*, The reading of the Scriptures, the ſinging of Pſalms, the Prayers, and the Sermons, are the *Dominica ſolennia* mentioned. Now, if he, who alledges this, can perſwade the World, that at every Aſſembly, the ſame Chapters were ſtill Read, the ſame Pſalms always Sung, and the ſame Sermons ſtill Preached; he may perſwade us, that the ſame Prayers in the ſame Form and Words, were always made; becauſe forſooth, theſe (as the other, and no more, no otherwiſe than the other) are *ſolennia*, in *Tertullian*'s ſtile. Yet, if we were ſo credulous, as to be perſwaded into ſuch a Paradox, his work would not be done; for Prayers might be, (and are frequently) the ſame, and

and yet not preſcribed. In (p) *Tertullian*'s time, neither the order of reading, nor ſinging, nor preaching, was preſcribed; and yet they were in his ſtile and account, *ſolennia*; and that Prayers muſt be concluded to have been in preſcribed Forms, meerly becauſe he reckons them, as the other, *inter dominica ſolennia*, will ſeem wonderful to an ordinary reaſon.

By this we may judge, how reaſonably the ſame word in *Cyprian* is made uſe of, for the ſame purpoſe, *Ubi vero ſolennibus adimpletis dare calicem Diaconus præſentibus cœpit*, Serm. de Lapſis; "When the things wont to be done, before the "diſtribution, being performed, the Deacon be-"gan to give the Cup to thoſe who were preſent. Prayers were ſome of thoſe things, which were wont to be performed before, and ſo may be included in *ſolennibus*. But that *ſolennia* ſhould here

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(p) *Ut quiſque de ſcripturis, vel de proprio ingenio poteſt, provocetur in medium Deo canere*, Tertull.

Now, as concerning the antient and general courſe of God's praiſes, and reading the Scripture, it appears by *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, that the order of reading the Scripture in the Church was arbitrary in their time, as accommodated to the condition of the times and occaſions of their Aſſemblies, by the guides of ſeveral Churches. The one of them ſaith, That the Scriptures are read μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ: The others words are theſe, *Apol.* cap. 39. *Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, ſi quid præſentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoſcere*; "We aſſemble to repeat the Scriptures of "God, what the condition of the preſent times inforceth, "either to forewarn, or to recognize. The Order, which is accommodated to the condition of the times, cannot be certain and appointed afore, *H. Thornd. Serv. at publ. Aſſem.* p. 397, 398.

denote

denote preſcribed Forms of Prayer, or ſuch Forms as were generally frequented, or indeed, any Forms whatſoever; there is not the leaſt ſhew of reaſon (which we made evident by *Cyprian*'s Maſter, even now.) Nor could it have fallen into any imagination, but of one only, fully poſſeſſed with a conceit, that none but ſuch Forms were then in uſe. The learned Perſon producing thoſe words, tells us a little before, *p.* 240. the Euchariſt was celebrated with Solemn Prayers, in the Apoſtles times; and yet (*q*) acknowledges, theſe were not ſet Forms, but ſuch as were ſuggeſted by the Spirit, and made by vertue of the extraordinary gift; which, with *Chryſoſtom*, he calls χάεισμα ἐυχῆς: So that Solemn Prayers were not ſet Forms then; and who can divine, why they muſt needs be ſo in *Cyprian*?

But in Anſwer to theſe teſtimonies, this may ſuffice. I will add no more, Ἵνα μὴ ὑποπλέον τὸ ἀναχρίδιτα διακόπλοντες καταπονῶμεν, to uſe *Chryſoſtom*'s words, in 1 *Cor.* 15. *p.* 514. Hitherto we meet with no evidence, for ſo much as any arbitrary Forms of Prayer, in the firſt and beſt Ages of the Church; much leſs for preſcribed Forms. And

(*q*) I acknowledge, that under the Apoſtles, the Prayers of the Church were not preſcribed, but conceived, by thoſe that were imployed in that Office, *Thornd. Right of Church*, 328.

He makes it an argument for preſcribed Forms, that Deacons were imployed; yet ſays, they were not in Prayers at the Euchariſt, *p.* 329. but appropriates theſe to Presbyters, 328. And that which Deacons did in the other was προσφώνησις, bidding of Prayer, not Praying, which *Clem. Conſtit.* diſtinguiſhes. *vid.* προσφώνησις the Deacon, ἐπίκλησις the Biſhop, *lib.* 8. *c.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

yet

yet this is the very beſt evidence, that I can meet with (produced by any that have laboured in this argument) for the Firſt Three hundred years; and indeed all, that hath any ſhew of proof, if ſo be all that hath been examined, may ſeem to have ſomuch. I ſhould ſhew too much contempt of the Reverend Authors judgment, if I ſhould offer with more words, to ſatisfie him, that the pretended *Ignatius*, his μία προσευχὴ, *Epiſt. ad Magn.* or *Juſtin Martyr*'s κοινὴ εὐχὴ, *Apol.* 2. or the antient Preface, or *Tertullian*'s mode of renunciation, *de Corona Militis*, *ſurſum corda*, or the uſe of a Doxology (of theſe two laſt, ſee what is ſaid before) have not ſo much as the face of a proof for the Liturgies in queſtion. And I might be ſuſpected of ſome deſign, to render their Advocates contemptible; if I ſhould inſinuate, that any of them rely upon that, in this cauſe, which yields not the ſhadow of a ſupport. I am much miſtaken, if thoſe that are judicious and diſintereſſed, can count any thing proved hereby, more than this, that thoſe who make uſe of ſuch allegations, are at a great loſs for want of proofs: But I muſt not overlook what I met with, when I had thus far proceeded. I was not a little amazed, to ſee ſome Proteſtants willing to alledge that impudent forgery, called the Liturgy of St. *James*, as evidence for preſcribed Liturgies; a piece ſtuff'd with many (*r*) Superſtitions and Novelties, ſuch as were never dreamt of in the Apoſtles times, nor

(*r*) Οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα, *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 32. *Lat. edit. an. Græc.* The Dialogues betwixt *Peter* and *Appion* were condemned as coun-

terfeit, upon this account. Πρόσδεξαι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν δέξα σοι μαρία—— μνημονεύσωμεν πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, &c. *Postea Mariæ & omnium Sanctorum, ut precibus & intercessionibus eorum misericordiam consequamur, ut oblatio sit in requiem animarum, quæ ante nos dormierunt——* μαγείας ψυχὰς ἀναπαύων.

Nam in ea jubet fieri mentionem Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, & alibi meminit Anachoretarum, & Christianorum damnatorum ad metalla; cum tamen constat Anachoretas cœpisse à Paulo primo Eremita, & Christianos cœpisse damnari ad metalla post tempora Apostolorum. Ibidem jubet recitari, Gloria Patri & Filio, &c. quem hymnum compositum fuisse in Concilio Nicæno, *communis opinio est. Jubet & dici, Sanctus Deus, sanctus Fortis, sanctus & Immortalis, miserere nobis, qui diu post tempora sancti* Jacobi *inventus est. Multa sunt alia, quæ redolent novitatem.*

Vid. Rivet. crit. Sacr. p. 110. 271.

long after; and not without some strictures of Blasphemy and Idolatry (offering Incense to God, for remission of Sins, and invocating the Virgin *Mary*.) So that *Bellarmin* himself (tho' the interest of a desperate cause, needing such supports, might have tempted him (as well as others) to it; many corruptions, which he is ingaged to defend, being therein countenanced) durst not say, it was his, on whom it is Fathered. *De* Jacobi *Liturgia sic sentio, eam aut non esse ejus, aut multa à posterioribus eidem addita.* He instances in divers particulars, not known in the First times, and then adds, *Multa sunt alia, quæ redolent novitatem*, "There are "many other things therein, that savour of No-"velty.

Ad an. 63. N. 17. All that *Baronius* hath to (*f*) say for it, is, some passages in the Catechisms called *Cyril*'s, agreeable to somewhat in

(*f*) The Cardinal brings Five Instances, most he misrepresents; none serve his turn.

the

1ſt. is, *Surſum corda*, ſo in *Cyril*, ἄνω τὰς καρδίας, but in the Liturgy not ſo, but ἄνω χῶμεν τὰ νῦν ἡ τὰς καρδίας: and the Anſwer in *Cyril* is ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, but in the Liturgy quite otherwiſe, *viz.* ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

2d. *Orate pro vivis & defunctis*, which words neither Prieſt nor Deacon uſeth, either in *Cyril*, or the Liturgy.

3d. is, *Oſculemini invicem in oſculo ſancto*; in the Liturgy, ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, but in *Cyril*, βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος, ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβεσθε, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀπασπάσωμεθα.

4th. is, *Sancta Sanctis*. Reſp. *Unus eſt Spiritus*, &c. So in the Liturgy, but with the Addition of εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ Πατρὸς ὦ δόξα εἰς αἰῶνα, which is not in *Cyril*.

5th. *Guſtate & videte, quoniam ſuavis eſt Dominus*, is in other Liturgies (as ſome of the former are) and ſo may as well prove *James* to be the Author of them, as of this.

the ſaid Miſſal, as he will have it; (*Quam verè ejus eſſe plane cognoſcet, qui eam conferat cum iis, quæ* Cyrillus *ejuſdem Eccleſiæ* Hieroſolymorum *Epiſcopus in ſuis myſtagogicis orationibus habet, quæ quidem ipſe non aliunde quam ex* Jacobi *Liturgia cognoſcitur accepiſſe*, ad An. 63. N. 17.) which is a very ſerviceable argument, and may happily prove as well, that *Cyril* was the Author of the Liturgy aſcribed to *James*, or that *James* was the Writer of the Catechiſms attributed to *Cyril*. How it is known, that *Cyril* could not have theſe paſſages any where elſe, but from *James* his Liturgy, I apprehend not; we muſt take the Cardinal's word, nor is it capable of better proof: But, that thoſe particulars might be transferred out of the Catechiſms into that Liturgy, we may well underſtand another way.

It was ſome diſparagement to the Church of *Rome*, not to have a Liturgy, which might pretend to be Apoſtolical, as well as the Church of *Jeruſalem* and *Alexandria*. A Miſſal is formed, wherein the Prayer for Conſecration, is *verbatim* the ſame

with that called, *The Canon of the Roman Mass:* This Missal, for the reputation of that Canon, must pass for St. *Peter*'s. But *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome*, who Six hundred Years after Christ, knew no Apostolical Liturgies, and says, in the Apostles times, there were no Forms used in the Eucharist, no not for Consecration, but only the (*t*) Lord's Prayer: Tells us also unhappily, that one *Scholasticus* made the Canonical Prayer used in the *Roman* Church, for Consecration of the Eucharist; so that if we will believe *Gregory* (who knew the original of the *Roman* Liturgies, as well as most Parents know their Children) their St. *Peter* must be beholding, for the said Prayer, to *Scholasticus* (even as *James* was to a Catechism for the forementioned passages) unless we can imagin, that *Gregory* (*u*) by *Scholasticus*, understood the Apostle *Peter*. But even this should not seem strange; since to *Bellarmin*, in his Zeal for the Canon of the Mass, it is probable; and yet (*w*) probable too, that *Gregory*, by *Scholasticus*, understood some person who lived in

(*t*) *Orationem autem dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum erat, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent, & valde mihi inconveniens visum est, ut precem quam* Scholasticus *composuerat, super oblationem diceremus: & ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus Corpus & Sanguinem non diceremus*, Greg. lib. 7. Ep. 63. *Omnis Ecclesiasticl Officii institutio veteris fuit* Gregorii. Platina.

(*u*) *Admittere possumus totum canonem, exceptis verbis Domini, a Scholastico compositum, quia nimirum & Sanctus* Petrus, *& cæteri Sancti Pontifices Scholastici dici possunt*, Bellarm. de Miss. l. 2. c. 19. p. 819. edit.

(*w*) *Si* Gregorius, *per Scholasticum, intelligat certum aliquem hominem, qui ætate ipsius vixerit, ut Adversarii contendunt, utraque probabilis est*, id. ibid.

his

his own time. How hard is it, for the greateſt perſons, to manage the defence of Apoſtolical Liturgies, without rendering themſelves (*x*) ridiculous?

But theſe, whom I deal with, ſeem not to own this Miſſal of *James* directly, ſpeaking of it only, as the opinion of ſome Greeks, who tell of ſuch a Liturgy. What Greeks theſe are, I know not; not finding any Greeks owning it, till Seven hundred Years after Chriſt: Yea the Greeks under the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and thoſe in the Dioceſs of the *Orient* alſo, did utterly diſclaim that Liturgy One thouſand Two hundred Years after Chriſt, as (*y*) *Balſamon* the Patriarch of *Antioch* declares.

(*z*) Thoſe that own it, or others, as Apoſtolical, or did ſo heretofore, never did, never will, give any account thereof to the World, to clear them from impoſture.

(*x*) *Flagrans cupido nobilitatis avitæ cogit homines interdum delirare, ait* Baronius.

(*y*) *Attamen* 85. *Canon Sanctorum & omni laude celebrium Apoſtolorum, &* 59 *Canon Laodicenæ Synodi, enumerantes veteris teſtamenti & novi, ipſoſque Apoſtolicos libros, qui in uſu nobis eſſe debent, nullam ſacrificii S.* Marci, *vel S.* Jacobi *mentionem faciunt, neque etiam Catholica ſanctiſſimi & œcumenici throni Conſtantinopolis eccleſia, ullo modo eas Liturgias agnoſcit. Pronunciamus igitur, non eſſe has recipiendas*, Balſam. in reſponſ. ad quæſt. *Marci. Patr. Alex.* writ as *Baronius* obſerves, *an.* 1204.

(*z*) The laſt particular, of ὑποκρισις ψευδολόγων, the Hypocriſie of Liers, I made to be counterfeit Writings, under the names of the firſt and beſt Antiquity; St. *Peter*'s Liturgy, the Liturgy of St. *James*, *Matthew*, *Mark*, &c. Through which we need not doubt, but the Doctrin of *Dæmons* was promoted, when we ſee ſome not aſhamed ſtill to maintain it, by thoſe counterfeit autorities, *Mede*, *Apoſt. of Lat. times*, p. 139.

To wave the Arguments usually insisted on, (that we may not *actum agere*) these Liturgies were not known (nor used) before the Seventh or Eighth Century. For if they had been (*a*) known in the foregoing Ages,

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(*a*) The Dialogues betwixt *Peter* and *Appion* were rejected for less than this, ὧν οὐδόλως μνῶμη τὸς ἔξω τοῖς παλαιοῖς, *Euseb. Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 38. Yea the Epistle of *James* was in danger, not because it was never mentioned (it would never have been received by any under such silence) but because it was not so frequently mentioned, ὡ πολλοὶ γῶν, ὡς πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, altho' it was received and approved ἐν πλείσαις ἐκκλησίαις, *Euseb. l.* 2. *c.* 22. *Grac. vs.*

The 2. Epistle of *Clemens* was not approved as genuine, ὃ μὲν ἐθ' ὁμοίως τῇ φερομένῃ καὶ παυτλῶ γνώριμον ὀπωσμάθομεν ὅτι μὴ ὃ τὸς ἀρχαίους αὐτῆ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν, because the Antients were not known to use it, *id. ibid.*

So *Augustin* rejects the writings, under the name of *Andrew* and *John*, because they were not admitted by the Church, *contra advers. Leg. l.* 1. *c.* 70. *contra Faust. l.* 20. *c.* 79.

Nam ut Latini ipsi & Graci Pontifices, multa deinceps in suis Liturgiis, quas jam inde ab Apostolis acceperant, pro re nata, vel immutarunt, vel addiderunt: ita etiam ab Alexandrinis *&* Ægyptiis, *par est credere, pro temporum opportunitate factitatum, Victorius Scialach. præfat.* to his version of 3 Arabick Liturgies.

Illud accedit (*quod etiam apud Latinos factum esse constat*) *ut in sacratissima Missa* (*viz.* Jacobi) *aliis superadditis precibus, aliis autem breviori summa contractis, ritibusque nonnihil auctis aut immutatis, vel tamen substantia integra permanente paulo diversior ab illa pristina habeatur,* Baronius in Spond. *ad an.* 63. *n.* 5.

Extat etiam Liturgia eidem S. Jacobo *attributa, quæ tamen à posterioribus ita locupletata est, ut non sit facile dijudicium, quæ pars ejus Liturgiæ S.* Jacobum *habeat Authorem*, Bellarm. de Script. Eccles. p. 33.

And *H. T.* compares the pretended primitive Liturgies, to *Theseus* Ship, which had been so changed, as no man could tell what part of it remained, *Serv. of C. at relig. Assemb.* p. 250. Of *Theseus* Ship, *Plutarch. in Grot.* 211.

1. Certainly

1. Certainly there would have been ſome mention of them, by ſome Fathers, Councils, or other Writers; by thoſe ſure, who give an account of all Apoſtolical Writings, both queſtioned and unqueſtionable; or thoſe who lived upon the place, where theſe Counterfeits, aſſuming thoſe great names, are ſaid to have been entertained, particularly for that of *James*, by *Euſebius*, *Cyril*, or *Jerome*, who reſided in *Paleſtine*.

2. Undoubtedly they would have been generally admitted, as other Apoſtolical Writings were. None would have ſeen reaſon, to have compoſed other Liturgies, nor would any other have been preferred before them.

3. Finally, none would have preſumed, or would have been ſuffered without controul, to have inlarged, curtailed, inverted them, and made all kind of alterations therein, as ſome have done, ſo as they are quite transformed from what they were once; inſomuch as their Favourers can ſhew us no one part of them, which may with any aſſurance be aſcribed to the firſt Authors, whoever they were. This is acknowledged, and ſaid to be done in ſeveral Ages, by the Guides of thoſe Churches, where they had entertainment: Who by thus uſing them, evidently declared, either that they did not believe them to be Apoſtolical, nor would have had them ſo accounted; or elſe, that themſelves were impious wretches, in making ſo bold with that which ſhould have been preſerved inviolable as the Scripture; and wretched Impoſtors too, who would thruſt their own patches, and others no better than their own, upon Chriſtians, under Apoſtolical names: And ſo, one of theſe ways, all the credit is loſt, upon which they are recommended to the World as Apoſtolical.

But, if they were not known (as is manifeſt by the premiſſes they were not) for ſo many Ages; then, neither were they extant, and ſo, owe not their Original to the Apoſtles, or any near their times. For it is impoſſible, that, if they had been extant, and compoſed by the Apoſtles, for the conſtant and daily uſe of the Churches, they ſhould not be known to the generality of Chriſtians, ſuppoſed to have ſo uſed them: Or, if any will ſay, the Churches uſed them not, he muſt condemn them as highly impious, living in willful diſobedience to the Apoſtles orders, and open contempt of their Authority, from Generation to Generation: And further, if they were not known to be Apoſtolical, before the Seventh or Eighth Ages, there's no way left to know it after. Innate Arguments there are none, in thoſe pieces, to evidence it, but many which ſhew the contrary; no features or lineaments truly Apoſtolical, but much of the ſcurf and luxurioufneſs of corrupt and decrepit Ages. So that there is nothing but teſtimony to rely on; and he that will admit writings to be Apoſtolical, upon the teſtimony of times, wherein deluſion and degeneracy prevailed, without the leaſt atteſtation of the Firſt Churches, and ſo many intermediate Ages, is well diſpoſed to be deluded, or delude others.

To conclude, if thoſe (*b*) who alledge them,

(*b*) *Bilſon, Apol.* p. 4. p. 409. When the Papiſt reaſoneth after this manner, Sure the Apoſtles had ſome preciſe Form of Service, tho' we know it not; the reply is to them: Since you know it not, why make you it your Anchor-hold, ſeeing what the Apoſtles did obſerve, none would have dared, but have obſerved it, after their example?

did

did know any Prayers, in that of *James*, or the reſt, which they really believed to be Apoſtolical, they would uſe thoſe themſelves, they would imploy their Authority and Intereſt to have them uſed by others; they would not be ſo arrogant, as to think their own models, or ſo weak, as to judge the Forms of others better; or ſo perverſe, as to make choice of the worſe; they would not ſhew ſuch contempt of the Apoſtles, as to preferr others before them; or ſuch diſobedience, as never to obſerve what they preſcribed. All the writings of the Apoſtles (they being univerſal Officers, divinely Inſpired) oblige all; ſo that I ſee not what room there is for excuſe, unleſs they will ſay, that tho' the Apoſtles compoſed theſe Liturgies, yet they did not injoyn the uſe of them, but left it arbitrary, impoſing on none. Yet even thus, tho' there be leſs diſobedience, there is no leſs contempt. For thoſe that will have Prayers of others compoſing uſed, when there is alſo choice of them; Do they not offer an affront to the Apoſtles, with the aggravations forementioned, if they neglect theirs, and uſe and impoſe others?

And if the Apoſtles did not injoyn the uſe of their ſuppoſed Liturgies, nor would impoſe them on any, Why are they not imitated herein? Why, having leſs Authority, (to ſay nothing of Wiſdom) do our Liturgiſts take more upon them, than the Apoſtles would do, in impoſing on thoſe, whom they thought beſt to leave free; and imperiouſly preſcribing their own weak inventions, or others, weaker and worſe than their own, when the Apoſtles, Divinely Inſpired, did not ſo much as adviſe the uſe of their ſuppoſed Forms?

But

But if they do not know, nor really believe, (as the premiſſes perſwade me they do not) that thoſe Forms and Prayers, or any of them, are the Apoſtles; Is it ingenuous to offer that for proof, which they do not themſelves believe?

Let us then leave them to thoſe who can believe them, which I ſhall wonder if any can, but thoſe who have a Faith at Command, (when it will ſerve a turn) wide enough to ſwallow a *Jacobus de Voragine* without mincing.

If I have ſtayed the longer here, they will, I hope, bear with me, who tender the honour of the Apoſtles, and of the Divine and Infallible Spirit, to whoſe inſpirations we owe all their writings; and would not have them lie under the unſufferable reproach, of having ſuch deformed Brats fathered on them; which indeed were the iſſue of darkneſs and degeneracy, and the Ages wherein thoſe prevailed; but borrowed thoſe great and ſacred names, to hide their ſhame, and gain them reputation, in a World much under the power of deluſion, where alone it was to be hoped for.

Thus we have cleared the firſt Three hundred Years after Chriſt, from all ſuſpicion of Worſhipping God publickly, in the way under debate; having examined all that is alledged, either for preſcribed or arbitrary Forms; and finding nothing of weight therein, to ſway a diſintereſſed perſon, to believe there was any ſuch thing, or to procure the aſſent of any, but thoſe who are diſpoſed to yield it without proof: And ſince that is not found to have been the way of the Three Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, it is not very conſiderable, nor ſcarce worth the inquiry, in what times elſe this may be found, a way of worſhipping God in publick Aſſemblies,

blies, for which there is nothing in the Apoſtles writings or practice, or in the practice of the Firſt Churches, and thoſe after them for Three hundred Years; and ſo, neither rule, nor reaſon, nor example, in the beſt and moſt imitable Ages; where alſo, their way of Worſhipping is deſerted, who ſerved God moſt regularly and acceptably: If it find any thing to excuſe it, it will have nothing to commend it to any, unleſs we will admit thoſe of ſuch Palates to be our Taſters, who like a Puddle better than either the Spring or the Streams while they run any thing clear.

In the two next Ages, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ πράγματα προῆλθε, things grew worſe and worſe, *Chryſ. in* 1 *Cor. Hom.* p. 277. as he tells us, who reſolutely ſet himſelf againſt the Stream of the then prevailing corruptions, but found it too violent for him, and warned others by what befel him, that to ſtrive againſt it, was the way to be ſunk. Thoſe, who have no great affection for theſe Liturgies, will not envy them the honour of having their riſe in ſuch degeneracy, as the beſt Writers of thoſe days ſaw ſo much cauſe to lament. The chief, if not the only ornament of thoſe times, were thoſe great perſons, who had ſuch reaſon to complain thereof. And many there were excellently accompliſhed, in the Fourth Age, and ſome till about the middle of the Fifth. It may ſeem ſomething for the credit of theſe Liturgies, if they can be found in the Church, while there was any thing of ſuch eminency in it; let us therefore view what is produced, as a diſcovery thereof.

The Eighteenth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* is alledged for preſcribed Liturgies, *p.* 374. *Titulus in Crab. de Orationibus quotidianis*, Περὶ τῶν τῶν

τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν ἥν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτέρραις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐνάτοις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι, "That the same ministration of Prayers, ought to be both at "Evening, and at the Ninth hour, *viz.* Three in the Afternoon.

Hence it is argued, The same Prayers are to be used, both at *Nones* and *Vespers*; therefore Forms of Prayer are imposed. But this is a very lame inference; for, neither is the Consequence good, neither is the Antecedent true.

The inconsequence is apparent, since the same Prayers may be used often, and yet not the words thereof prescribed or imposed. We have instances enough, to clear this, in our Pulpits; where many, before their Sermons, and after, use the same Prayers Morning and Evening, whereas none prescribe the words, or impose those Forms on them, but themselves. And so we might dismiss this Canon, as making nothing for prescribed Forms. If this Synod would have had the same Prayers used; yet here's not a Syllable for prescribing the words thereof, or injoyning what Forms should be used.

But indeed here's nothing to signifie, that it was the intent of the Synod, to have the same Prayers used, at the times specified; neither the whole phrase (τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν ἥν εὐχῶν) nor any word in it imports such a thing; and they make the Fathers absurd, who fix such a sense on their Decree. Λειτουργία will not serve the turn; for it does not here (as in later times) signifie a Book or Model of prescribed and stinted Forms of Prayer, and other Administrations. Indeed, as some Papists, where they meet with this word, conclude they have found their Mass; so others, when they find

find it, may fancy they have diſcovered a Service-Book: But both ridiculouſly, to thoſe who underſtand the Antient uſe of the word.

For, no inſtance hath yet been produced, nor can be, wherein it is uſed in this ſenſe, by any of the Antients, before this Council, or long after: And therefore none will believe it is ſo taken here, but ſuch, whoſe deſire to have it ſo, will ſerve for reaſon enough to believe it.

But (*c*) λειτουργία, according to the Notation and Antient known uſe of the word, denotes ſometimes a publick Function or Office, moſt commonly the Exerciſe and Adminiſtration of it, ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὰς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, exerciſe of their Function, *Synod. Epiſt. Nic. in Theodoret.* l. 1. c. 9. vid. *Con. Antioch. can.* *in cod.* 97. and then it is not the Forms of Action, but the Action it ſelf, the publick uſe, imployment, exerciſe, or miniſtration of that, to which it is applyed, Civil or Religious, applyed to Worſhip; it is not the Forms of Worſhip, but the Miniſtration of it; ſo, λειτουργία τῶν ὑμνῶν, in *Theodoret*, is not a model of preſcribed Hymns, but the ſinging of Hymns; ſo λειτουργία τῶν ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν, in (*d*) *Juſtinian*, is the Holy exerciſe of

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(*c*) Λειτουργία χυρίως ἡ δημοσία ὑπηρεσία, *Suidas Lex.*

Καὶ ὁ φεύγοντες γε τὰς νεωτέρας τὸ εἶν λειτουργίας χρεισπανοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θεείσαντο· ἀλλὰ τροῦντες ἰωυτὸς θειοτέρα καὶ ἁγναστικωτέρα λειτουργία ἐκκλησίας θεῦ, ὅτι σωτηρία ἀνθρώπων, *Origen* contr. *Celſ.* l. 8. p. 428.

Theodoret, Hiſt. l. 2. c. 24.

(*d*) Καὶ ἱερὰ γέγονε λειτουργία, ὑποῖαν εἰωθὸς ὄζιν ἐν ταῖς ἐμωυτὰ ταις ἐκκλησίαις γίνεσθαι, τῶν τε θείων ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν, *Anth. Collot.* 2. Tit. 3. cap. 11.

reading

Ψάλλειν τε τῇ τυχούσῃ καὶ τὸ ὀρθρεύειν καὶ τὰ ἑσπερεύειν, is in the *Code*, ταῖς λειτουργίαις γίνεσθαι, *id. ibid.*

Prayers and Liturgy are ſometimes contradiſtinct, as when *privatæ domus*, εὐχῶν χάριν, *ſed non* ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, Novel. 58. λειτουργία & κοινωνία *diſtinct*. *Cod.* lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſt. & *Cler.* p. 51. *Epiſcopum aleatorum aut ſpectatorum, &c.* Τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀφορίζεσθαι λειτουργίας, *Cod.* p. 87.

reading the Scripture, not a Rubrick preſcribing what Leſſons ſhould be read; of which the Antient Church knew nothing: And, (which comprizes all) he will have him capitally puniſhed, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖσθαι, whoſoever τὰς θείας λειτουργίας παρέξοι, *Anth. Coll.* 9. tit. 6. c. 31. the diſturbance ſure is of the Exerciſes of Divine Miniſtrations, not of any Written Models. So λειτουργία τὴν κηρυτλόντων, in *Theophylact* and others, is Preaching; which Exerciſe will not be denied to have been performed without any preſcribed Forms, for many Hundred years.

So, applyed to Prayer, λειτουργία τῆς εὐχῶν, here is not a Model of preſcribed Prayers, but the Exerciſe of Praying; and therefore, unleſs we will perſer a ſenſe of the word then utterly unknown to Chriſtians, before the proper and (*e*) uſual acception of it, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς εὐχῶν, is not the ſame preſcribed Forms of Prayer, or the ſame of any ſort; but the ſame Exerciſe of Prayer, when

(*e*) So part of the Presbyters Miniſtration, λειτουργία, *Conc. Ancyr.* is προσφέρειν and ὁμιλεῖν, to Offer and Preach, *Can.* 1. And the Deacons imployment, or λειτουργία, is ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν, *Can.* 2. And there's the λειτουργία of the Deaconeſs her Miniſtration, *Con. Chalced. Can.* 15. Ἑξακοσίη τε χειροθεσίαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ προσμένουσα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ.

long,

long, was better performed, and may be ſuch without ſuch Forms.

If ἱερουργία had been put by the Synod in the place of λειτουργία (*f*) (a word apt to be miſtaken, ſince it was applyed to a later invention) nothing would have been underſtood hereby, but a Holy Exerciſe, or as it is in *Heſychius*, ἔργον ἱερικόν a Sacred Imployment; and by the whole, no other, than the ſame Holy Exerciſe of Prayer, inſtead of what is now made of it, the ſame Prayers: And yet theſe two words were of the ſame import Antiently. The Apoſtle expreſſes his acting as a λειτουργὸς by ἱερουργοῦν, *Rom.* 15. 16. and *Chryſoſtom* uſeth them as *Synonyma's*, in the place forecited, *Hom.* 29. in *Rom.* p. 221. and *Balſamon* in *Syn. Ancyr.* explains λειτουργεῖν by ἱερουργεῖν.

Again, for the phraſe, let it be obſerved, that the expreſſion is not τὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς αὐτῶν εὐχῆς: this indeed might have ſignified the uſe of the ſame Prayers. But τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς εὐχῆς is no more here the Praying of the ſame Prayers, at Three and Six Afternoon, than τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς κηρύγματος would have been the Preaching of the ſame Sermon Twice in one Afternoon. And as there might have been ἡ αὐτὴ λειτουργία τῆς ὑμνῶν, the ſame exerciſe of Singing at *Nones* and *Veſpers*, without Singing the ſame Pſalms at both Hours; and the ſame Service

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(*f*) Τί δὲ λειτουργήσωσι· τοῦτ' ἔστι κηρύττοντες, *Theophylact.* in *Act.* 13. So *Oecumenius*, ibid. So *Chryſoſtom*, in *Act. Hom.* 27. p. 766. λειτουργοὶ εὐχαῖς ἀεὶ καὶ διαλέξεσι, *Euſeb. vit. Conſt.* l. 4. c. 45. οὐκ ἁπλῶς λατρείαν λέγων, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν. αὕτη δέ μοι ἱερεσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν, *Chryſoſt.* in Rom. Hom. 29. p. 221. ver. 16.

or

or Exercise of reading the Scripture, tho' the same Chapters had not been read, or any by the prescript of a Rubrick; and the same Ministry or Exercise of Preaching, tho' the same Sermons had not been Preached twice over within Three hours, or without using any set Forms of Homilies: As well might there be τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ εὐχῶν, the same exercise of Praying at the Third and Sixth hours, without using the same Prayers, or any set Forms at all.

Besides, no rational account can be given, why the same Prayers must be used at Six, which were used at Three Afternoon. No Decree, parallel to this (if so taken) can be produced; nor any thing, in the practice of the Church, before or after, agreeable to it. Where can it be shewed, that the same Prayers, without variation, were always used, at several hours of the same day, the same invariably at the Sixth hour, as at the Ninth, *&c.* Even after unalterable Forms were introduced, their several hours had their different Offices; each of them, in the Latin Church, did *statui temporis respondere*, and were suited to the time, for which they were appointed, as (g) *Durandus* tells us: And in the Greek Church, they did τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ καιρῷ λειτουργεῖν, as *Leo*, accomodate the Service to the season.

(g) *Sane officium sextæ statui temporis respondet, sicut & officia aliarum horarum; in primâ namque hora est inchoatio, in tertia perfectus, in sexta consummatio, &c. Quod indicant verba hymnorum, quæ in ipsis horis, & etiam in nona permittuntur*, Durand. rational. l. 5. c. 7. p. 160.

Beda

Beda speaks of a Hymn sung, *potius in vespertinis, quam in aliis Officiis*, Vita Chrysost. p. 288. rather at *Vespers* than in any other Office. And *Basil*, long before him, mentions one, which he calls ἐπιλυχνίαν εὐχαριστίαν, which was used at (*b*) Candle-light, τῆ ἐπιφανεῖ φωτὸς φαντάσματι, *de Spir. Sanct.* cap. 29. p. 276. And such a one we have set down, by the Learnedest of Primates, *de Symb.* p. 35. called, ὑμνὸς τῆς λυχνικῆς: so proper for the Evening, as it could not be congruously used at any other hour of the day. What reason is there to doubt, but their φωταγωγικὰ λυχνικὰ, as *Epiphanius* calls them, or those ἐν ταῖς λυχναφίαις εὐχαὶ, Prayers at Candle-light, *in Socrat. Hist.* l. 5. c. 22. were also accommodated to the time, from whence they are denominated, and at which they were used, as well as their Hymns? To conclude, there is no need to make the Canon thus confound the Offices, which were always distinct, and without all reason, to run counter to all the Christian World; nor to force a sense upon the phrase, which it is impatient of; nor to put a construction upon λειτουργία, which those times were utterly strangers to. The design and import of it is but this; That those in that Province, should assemble

In *Durand.* l. 5. c. 9. p. 162.

(*b*) In the *Cathemerinon* of *Prudentius*, containing Hymns for all parts of the day; the Fifth (in the Editions of *Aldus*, and all other, but those of *Gisselinus* and *Fabricius*) is *intituled ad accensionem lucernæ*, and was afterward made use of as a Church Hymn, different, both from those Four that go before it, (*ad Galli cantum, ad Matutinum, ante Cibum, post Cibum*) and those two that follow it, *vid. Rivet. crit. Sacr.* l. 3. c. 26. p. 331.

for Worſhip Twice after Noon; and as they had Prayers at one of the hours, ſo ſhould they have the ſame holy Imployment or Exerciſe at the other; or as it is more briefly expreſſed, in the Latin Editions of that Council, *Quod ſemper ſupplicationes orationum, & ad horam nonam, & ad* (*i*) *veſperam oportet celebrari*, Caranz. *Quod id ipſum miniſterium orationum, & in nonis & veſperis fieri debeat*, Cod. Juſtell. p. 73. *Quod id ipſum officium precum & nona & veſpera ſemper debeat exhiberi*, in Crab. *t.* 1. *p.* 377.

This Canon of the *Laodicean* Synod (which I have been the longer in examining, becauſe I ſee ſome apt to miſtake it, who have not ſo much byaſs as others, to miſlead them) is all conſiderable, that I find alledged for preſcribed (*k*) Liturgies, in the Fourth Age. For I would not diſparage all, with the unadviſedneſs of thoſe, who produce the Twenty third Canon of *Con. Carth.* 3. (and alſo the Twelfth of *Milevis*) to ſupport that, which we have ſeen, they utterly overthrow.

Only I muſt not forget, that ſome make an offer at the Liturgies, which go under the names of *Baſil* and *Chryſoſtom*; as tho' theſe would help their cauſe. But they do this but faintly, as knowing them to be, by Proteſtants, generally branded for counterfeits; and that for many reaſons, ſuch

(*i*) In *Clem. Conſtit.* l. 8. ὁπλίτης ὀρθρεύειν, & ἑσπερεύειν, & ὄπλου χρᾶσθαι, are diſtinct and different, *cap.* 35, 36, 37, 38.

(*k*) Liturgy, in *Martinius* and others, 1. for any publick Office of Miniſtry, and eſpecially of Diſtribution. 2. for the publick ſervice of God, in Reading, Teaching, Praying. 3. for ſtated Orders and Forms of that publick Service. *Bellarmin* adds a fourth, for the Sacrificing Offices only.

as

as their oppoſites count very cogent, in like caſe: Such being the order and matter of them, ſuch rites there uſed, ſuch perſons there mentioned, many words, many things therein, that they cannot but ridiculouſly be aſcribed to thoſe great Perſons, or to any, in, or near their times. Our Engliſh Prelates formerly had no more favour for them; take a taſte thereof in Biſhop *White*'s cenſure of them: "The Liturgies, ſaith he, Fa-"thered upon St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, have a "known Mother (to wit, the late *Roman* Church;) "but there is (beſides many other juſt exceptions) "ſo great diſſimilitude between the ſuppoſed Fa-"thers and the Children, that they rather argue "the diſhoneſt dealing of their Mother, than ſerve "as lawful witneſſes, of that which the Adverſary "intendeth to prove by them. Againſt *Fiſher* p. 377. Indeed the Romaniſts are the great ſticklers, for the Legitimation of theſe Miſſals, ſeeing them full of thoſe ſores, which they count the beauty of their Church. They are made uſe of, to countenance the worſhip of Images and Altars, the Interceſſion and Invocation of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Real Preſence, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary*, *&c.* And yet none of them have the confidence to affirm, that as we have them now, they were the iſſue of thoſe, on whom they are Fathered. Only ſome, very loth quite to loſe the advantages they would make of them, are willing to ſupppoſe, that tho' they have ſuffered very great changes, by additions, interpolations, inverſions, ſubſtractions, *&c.* yet ſomething may yet remain therein of *Baſil*'s and *Chryſoſtom*'s. But they give no reaſon, why they ſuppoſe this, when it is neceſſary they ſhould do it,

in this caſe, if any; ſince there are the ſame grounds, for the intire rejection of theſe Liturgies, which they count (and many more than they count) ſufficient for the total rejecting of ſome others. If ſuch groundleſs ſurmizes may be admitted, no Brat, tho' evidently ſpurious, but will procure a Legitimation, in part at leaſt, if any can expect thereby to ſerve a turn; a way is hereby opened, for an equal defence of the moſt impudent and pernicious forgeries, that the Church hath been peſtered with. Some will be apt to ſuppoſe the like of the Liturgies, Fathered upon *Peter*, *James*, *Mark*, and all the Apoſtles, in their pretended Conſtitutions. Something therein may be theirs, and they may as reaſonably ſuppoſe it; for the Goſpels, which went under the names of *Peter*, (*l*) *James*, *Thaddeus*, *Thomas*, *Andrew*, tho' they were changed and corrupted, yet what was found therein conſentient to Primitive and Catholick Doctrine, might be the Apoſtles, and the ſubſtance of them of their compoſing. It's true, thoſe Goſpels were not received by the firſt Churches, but that makes no difference; ſince neither were thoſe Liturgies received by them, no nor known, or mentioned, as we ſhewed before, (and ſo not extant) till many Hundred years after the Apoſtles times; and upon this account, their pretence to Apoſtolicalneſs, is more ridiculous than that of the other. And they, who received thoſe ſpurious Liturgies ſo late, might, upon the ſame terms,

(*l*) Thoſe mentioned in *Synopſi Scripturæ*, in *Athanaſ.* tom. 2. p. 134. Πεῤεἰσδσι Πέτρε, Ἰωάννε, Θῶμα, εὐαγγέλιον Χ^τ Θωμᾶ, διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, Κλημέντια, &c.

have

have admitted the forged Goſpels, *viz.* changing and patching them, as they liſted. But enough of this before.

As for the Liturgies before us; thoſe who will ſuppoſe ſomething of them to be *Baſil*'s or *Chryſoſtom*'s, do not, cannot ſhew us, what that is; nor do they, nor can they, give us any Rule by which we may know it; and ſo it is not, it cannot be known, that any Prayer in them is theirs, to whom the whole is intituled: And therefore it cannot be hereby proved, that ever either of them compoſed any Prayers, for the publick uſe of others; much leſs that they preſcribed any to be uſed, in the ſame Form and Words. And ſo, if this ſhift were honeſt, and ſafe, and reaſonable; yet is it wholly unſerviceable for the proof of preſcribed Liturgies. To be brief, It is manifeſt, in the genuine Writings of both thoſe Fathers, that they judged it neceſſary, to conceal and keep ſecret the Sacramental Rites and Prayers (which is all that is conſiderable in thoſe Liturgies) from all but the Communicants: Now, they did not take the courſe to conceal, but divulge them, if they writ and publiſhed thoſe Liturgies, tho' but for the common uſe of the Province or Dioceſs, where each of them preſided; and therefore, ſince we cannot conceive, that they would run counter to their declared principles, it cannot be believed, that they were the Authors and divulgers of thoſe, or any other ſuch Liturgies, or of any ſuch Prayers in them; and conſequently, it is injurious to them, to Father theſe Miſſals (if they were not otherwiſe ſo Leprous, and every way unlike them) upon theſe Worthies.

And so I leave them, stufft so full with the corruptions of later times, that none but those who are fond of such corruptions, and would fain have them, right or wrong, of Antient generous extract, can believe them to be the issue of those Fathers; only let me interpose my conjecture, how it came to pass, that *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose* too, were accounted the Authors of Liturgies, tho' neither themselves, nor any that lived with them, or near the time in which they flourished, mention any such thing. It is recorded of each of these persons, signally and peculiarly, that they introduced a new mode and order of Singing, into the respective Churches, where they presided, never there used before. *Basil*'s new *Psalmody*, brought in by him to *Caesarea*, was made more remarkable, by the offence taken thereat by the Clergy of *Neocaesarea*, as an innovation in the Worship of God: He defends it, and gives an account what it was, *Epist.* 63. κἂν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτηθῶσι τῆς ἀκηρύκτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπονδοῦ πολέμου, ψαλμοὺς λέγουσι, καὶ τρόπον μελῳδίας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν κακοζηλίας σωφρονικὴν ἀλλοίωσιν: If the cause be asked of this implacable and perpetual quarrel, they say, It is the Psalms, and the mode of singing, altering the custom, which hath been retained amongst us. And afterwards, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ φασι ταῦτα ἦν τὰ μεγάλα Γρηγορίου, There was none of this (say they) in the time of *Gregory* the Great. Now *Basil* denies not, but he had begun another way of singing, than they had been accustomed to; but that it might appear, how little reason there was to quarrel with him for it, he declares what it was, Τελευταῖον ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχῆς, εἰς τὸ ψαλμῳδεῖν καθίσταμεν, καὶ νῦν μὲν διχᾷ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιφάλλομεν ἀλλήλοις, &c. finally, rising from Prayer, they betake them-

themſelves to ſinging, and ſometimes the Company being diſtributed into two parts, they anſwer one another in ſmging. The Firſt who brought up this mode of ſinging, (*m*) was *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* at *Antioch*, uſing it in their Conventicles, when the *Arians* had poſſeſt themſelves of the publick Churches, as *Theodoret* relates it *l.* From thence it paſt to other places, and was firſt at *Cæſarea*, practiſed by *Baſil.*

Ambroſe, who borrowed many other things of *Baſil*, liked his Pſalmody ſo well, as he introduced it into the *Weſt*, firſt uſing it in his Church at (*n*) *Milan*, and this when *Auguſtin* was there, who aſſures us, from his own knowledge, that it was not long ſince the practice there begun; *Nimirum annus erat, aut non multo amplius, cum* Juſtina Valentiniani *Regis pueri Mater hominem tuum* Ambroſium *perſequeretur hæreſis ſuæ cauſa*; "it was but a Year, or little more (before *Au-*"*ſtin* was leaving thoſe parts) when *Juſtina* the "Mother of the young Emperour *Valentinian* per-

(*m*) Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῆ διελόντες τὸν ἦχον ἀλλόντων χόρους, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄδειν τοῖς ἀντιφώνοις ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· ἣν τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον, πάντοτε διέδραμε καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα, *Theodoret Hiſt.* l. 2. cap. 24. p. 78. And by this it appears, that the account, which *Socrates* gives of the Original hereof, is a fable, *lib. 6. c.* 8. and either not known, or not believed by *Theodoret*, who yet was beſt acquainted with the cuſtoms of *Antioch.*

(*n*) *Non longe cæperat Mediolanenſis Eccleſia genus hoc conſolationis & exhortationis celebrare, magno ſtudio fratrum concinentium vocibus & cordibus.* —— *Et ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis, jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, & per cætera orbis imitantibus*, Auguſt. Confeſſ. *lib.* 9. *cap.* 7. *p.* 221.

" ſecuted the ſervant of God *Ambroſe*, for her He-
" reſies ſake (ſhe being an *Arian*.) *Excubabat pia plebs in eccleſia mori parata cum Epiſcopo ſuo. Tunc Hymni & Pſalmi, ut canerentur ſecundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabeſceret, inſtitutum eſt*, " The Godly multi-
" tude did watch in the Church, ready to die with
" their Biſhop; then, leſt the People ſhould lan-
" guiſh through the tedioufneſs of their grief, was
" the ſinging of Pſalms and Hymns, after the mode
" of the *Orient*, inſtituted. And from *Milan*, where *Ambroſe* (o) began it, did it paſs into other Churches of the *Weſt*. *Paulinus* teſtifies as much in the Life of *Ambroſe*.

And *Chryſoſtom* was the firſt that brought in this order of ſinging amongſt the Orthodox, in the Church at *Conſtantinople*, tho' the *Arians* had a little the ſtart of him in practiſing it in the Streets; for there, in the Nights of the Weekly Feſtivals, as *Socrates* calls Saturday and the Lord's day, *l.* 6. *c.* 8. ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἑορταῖς (which *Sozomen* adds) κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀνῳδῶν τρόπον ἢ ψάλλον, they ſung by courſe, *l. c.* ᾠδὰς ἀντιφώνας, *in Socrat. ibid. Chryſoſtom*, leſt any of his Flock ſhould be hereby inticed from him, puts his People upon ſinging in the ſame manner, ὅπως τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τῆς ψαλμῳδίας τὸν

(o) *Antiphona in Eccleſia Mediolanenſi celebrari primum cœperunt, cujus celebritatis devotio, uſque ad hodiernum diem, non ſolum in eadem Eccleſia, verum per omnes pene Occidentis provincias manet*, Paulin. *vit.* Ambroſ.

Beſides, ſome Hymns were compoſed by *Ambroſe*; of which, there is antient and ſufficient teſtimony, tho' none ſuch for the Prayers aſcribed to him.

ἀντὶ

αὐτῇ λαὸν ϖεστρέϕει; and upon ſuch an occaſion the Orthodox, firſt taking up this mode of ſinging, continued it till now, ſays he; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε τὸν εὐγηθέστερον τρόπον ὑμνεῖν ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ὅπω δέουσιν, *Soz. Hiſt.* lib. 8. cap. 8. Now, as theſe three Fathers were the firſt introducers of that way of ſinging, in their ſeveral Churches; ſo it is further obſervable, that ſinging was antiently called λειτουργία. So *Chryſoſtom* himſelf calls ſinging of Pſalms, ὑδὲ ἀναθυμῶντες πότε ϖερισόμεθα τὴν καλὴν λειτουργίαν, *Homil.* in *Pſal.*41. And *Theodoret* calls that very mode of ſinging, which they in their reſpective places firſt uſed, λειτουργίαν. *Leontius* his deſire, that the *Meletians* would ſing by courſe in publick, is thus expreſſed, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταύτην γένεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἠξίει, *Hiſt.* lib. 2. c. 24. p. 78.

So in *Juſtinian's Code*, ψάλλειν τὰ τε νυκτερινὰ καὶ τὰ ὀρθρινὰ, is ſaid to be ϖρᾶγμα τῆ κλησιᾶ ϖρὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν. And thus ψάλλειν is there ταῖς λειτουργίαις ϖροκαθέζεσθαι, *L.* 42. §. 10. *de Epiſc. & Cler.*

Now, they being found Authors of that which is called *Liturgia*, this might ſeem a ſufficient ground, to account them the formers of Liturgies; and λειτουργία in after Ages, being uſed for a model of ſet Forms of Prayer and other Adminiſtrations, thoſe that found them accounted the Authors of Liturgies, might eaſily miſtake them to be the Authors of ſuch a thing, as the word then ſignified.

Nor will this ſeem improbable, if it be obſerved, that a Liturgy was actually fathered upon *James* (called ἀδελφόθεος) meerly becauſe *Hegeſippus* in *Euſebius* ſtiles him λειτουργὸς, *Unde quidam putant opinionem natam, quod* Jacobus *primus miſſæ ritum inſtituerit,*

instituerit, quem Hegesippus *apud* Eusebium *primum ab Apostolis constitutum fuisse Episcopum, & Liturgum dicit*, says *Cassander*, (p) in *Liturgic.* c. 6. Hence, some think, came the opinion, that *James* was the first Author of a Missal; *Hegesippus* in *Eusebius* affirming, that he was by the Apostles first made Bishop and *Liturgus*. And this might incourage those, whose inclinations led them to father their own conceptions upon great and eminent Persons; to compose such Forms, as are the Contents of those Liturgies, and expose them under their Names.

Add hereto, that amongst the Latines in those Ages, when the framing and counterfeiting of Liturgies was in fashion, almost every part of them went under the name of *Cantus*, not the Prayers excepted. So (q) *Syn. Tolet.* 4. can. 12. all the several Offices and Prayers by name, pass under the notion of Singing. The Law of *Charles* the Great, imposing the *Gregorian* Office upon the Churches in his Dominions, is in these terms, *Ut secundum ordinem & morem Ecclesiæ Romanæ fiat cantatus*, Capit. *l.* 6. *c.* 225. So when *Durandus* would tell us what Liturgies they had in the primitive Church, all is comprised under *Cantare*; *In primitiva tamen Ecclesia diversi diversa quisque*

(p) Cassander, *Liturgic.* c. 6. p. 16. Egesippus *apud* Eusebium, *de* Jacobo *inquit, eum ab Apostolis primum constitutum fuisse Episcopum & Liturgum, i. e. sacrarum & divinarum rerum Administratorem. Unde quidam putant opinionem natam, quod* Jacobus *primus missæ ritum instituerit.*

(q) *Componuntur missæ, sive preces, vel orationes, sive commendationes, sive manûs impositiones, ex quibus si nulla decantentur in Ecclesia, vacant omnia officia ecclesiastica*, Conc. Tolet. 4. c. 12.

pro

pro ſuo velle cantabant, Rational. *l.* 5. *c.* 2. *p.* 139. In the primitive Church, ſeveral Men ſung ſeveral things, according as every one would. And *Belethus* after him, *in primitiva Eccleſia diverſi diverſa cantabant, quiſque pro ſuo libitu.* Expl. diver. Offic. *cap.* 19.

Now thoſe, who were the introducers of a particular way of ſinging in their Churches, might thus come to be accounted the Authors of Liturgies for them, when theſe were expreſſed and underſtood by *cantus*, and *cantare* became equivalent with λειτουργεῖν in its modern ſignification. And it will be hard for them, who aſcribe a Liturgy to *Jerome*, to give any better account to the World than this, why they do ſo. It was believed, that by his means, the ſame mode and order of ſinging was firſt uſed at *Rome*. That (*r*) *Alleluiah*, after the *Eaſtern* mode, was by his advice there ſung; and the Doxology, *ſecundum uſum* (*ſ*) Antiochiæ, where, as I ſhewed before, Singing by courſe was firſt invented; and that Pope *Damaſus* writ to him for his direction, how the *Grecians* mode of ſinging might be practiſed at *Rome*. Hence *Durandus*

(*r*) *Ut Alleluiah hic diceretur, de Hieroſolymorum eccleſia, ex Beati Hieronymi traditione, tempore beatæ memoriæ Damaſi Papæ traditur, tractum.* Gregor. *M. l.* 7. *Epiſt.* 63.

(*ſ*) *Secundum* Antiochiæ *uſum, in fine omnium pſalmorum, Gloria Patri* Romæ *cantare, eo inſtante, cœptum eſt .... do emendante* Roma *legendos canendoſque in eccleſia* 70 *Pſalmos ſuſcepit*, Marian. *vita* Hieronym.

Pati item charitatem tuam, ut, ſicut à creatore tuo Alexandro *coëpiſcopo noſtro didiciſti in gremio Græcorum pſallere: ita ad nos tua fraternitas dirigere delectetur*, Epiſt. *Damaſi*, in operibus *Hieronymi*, tom. 9. p. 219. edit. Marian.

ſays,

ſays, *cantum ordinavit*, and nothing elſe, but an Order for reading the Scripture. So, upon theſe grounds, an *Eccleſiaſticum Officium* is aſcribed to him, and he is made the Author of a Liturgy, made up in time of a Lectionary, an Antiphonary, and a Sacramentary, as *Pamelius* repreſents it.

Theſe forementioned, were the moſt eminent Perſons, both in *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, in thoſe times, when the Church flouriſhed with Perſons of greateſt eminency, for Learning and Oratory. Now, when Liturgies were all in all, (the happineſs of the antient Church, and the excellency of its Paſtors in Preaching and Praying, being turned by the lamentable degeneracy of the following Ages, into (*t*) Chanting and Reading) it behoved thoſe, who were Zealous for their honour, they having no worth of their own, to borrow or (*u*) ſteal ſome for them, from great names; and to have them thought of noble deſcent, that the meanneſs of their true and lawful Parents might not diſcredit them. In theſe circumſtances, a ſmaller matter, than I have inſiſted on, would ſerve to prove their title and pretence to an extract ſo honourable. This might well incourage ſome to intitle their Liturgies to thoſe Worthies, and call them their Fathers, and might perſwade others, who were

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(*t*) *Et poſtremo, omnes ordines, majores & minores, tandem transformati ſunt in lectores & cantatores: quid enim aliud quotidie agunt?* Chemnit. exam. *Pars* 2. *p.* 415.

(*u*) *Reſtincto inde valde ſtudiorum omnium ac religionis apud eos ardore, in paucis ejuſmodi preculis, earumque fere ſola recitatione, nimis ſegniter, vulgo amant acquieſcere & immori*, Hoornb. ſum. controv. *l.* 11. *de Græc. p.* 886.

willing

willing enough to have it ſo (for the credit of their Churches that uſed them) to believe it was ſo indeed. But this, as I ſaid, is but my conjecture; but whether it were ſo or otherwiſe, let others judge, as they ſee reaſon. It ſuffices me, that theſe Liturgies are ſpurious, and ſo generally accounted, in a manner by all, but thoſe, who are engaged in a cauſe that needs ſuch a defence; and to uphold their trade, muſt deal in falſe Wares, and ſo ſee cauſe to plead for them, againſt very much of that reaſon, a little of which they themſelves count a ſufficient evidence of forgery, in caſes, where ſuch an intereſt is not concerned.

The next Authority I meet with, is the Fifteenth Canon of the *Vinetick* Synod, in which Six Biſhops, towards the concluſion of the Fifth Age, made this Decree, *Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra Provinciam noſtram, ſacrorum ordo & pſallendi una ſit conſuetudo*; "We have alſo thought it "right, that, as to the order of Sacred Admini-"ſtrations and Singing, there be (*w*) one cuſtom "through our Province. What is intended here by *ordo ſacrorum*, may be beſt underſtood by the Council of *Agatha*, being a Synod of the ſame Country, held not long after this of *Vannes*, that in the beginning of the Sixth Age, *an.* 506. this

(*w*) Auguſt. Ep. ad Januar. 118. c. 6. *Apoſtolus de hoc ſacramento loquens, ſtatim ſubtexuit: Cætera cum venero ordinabo; unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat ut in Epiſtola totum illum agendi ordinem inſinuaret, quam univerſa per orbem ſervat eccleſia) ab ipſo ordinatum eſſe, quod nulla morum variatur diverſitate.* vid. Three poſitions about Publick Prayers.

in

in the latter end of the Fifth. There *Can.* 21. (*x*) *Ordo eccleſiæ ab omnibus æqualiter cuſtodiendus*, is the diſpoſing of the Reſponſals, Prayers, Hymns, and Pſalms, each in the place thought moſt fit (according to *Auguſtin*'s definition of *Ordo*, *eſt parium diſpariumque rerum, ſuæ cuique loca tribuens, diſpoſitio*, Civ. Dei. *l.* 19. *c.* 13.) and ſo, applyed to Sacred Adminiſtrations, *Ordo*, eſtabliſhed by a Synod, if it reached all particulars, will amount to no more, than a Rubrick or Directory. One and the ſame might be obſerved by all the Churches in a Province, in all Offices, yea and in Prayers too; tho' the ſame expreſſions were not uſed, nor thoſe that officiated, at all tied up to Words and Syllables: For example; If, in the common Office (at which all might be preſent) they began with Pſalms, and then read ſome part of the Law, or Prophets, and next ſome part of an Epiſtle, or of the Goſpels, and afterwards proceeded to the Sermon; the ſame order was obſerved, (*y*) tho' the ſame Pſalms were not always ſung, nor the ſame Leſſon twice in a Year, and the ſame Sermon never twice Preached: So

(*x*) *Et quia convenit, ordinem eccleſiæ ab omnibus æqualiter cuſtodiri, ſtatuendum eſt (ſicut ubique fit) ut poſt Antiphonas, collationes, ab Epiſcopis vel Presbyteris, dicantur. Et Hymni matutini vel veſpertini decantentur diebus omnibus, & in concluſione matutinarum vel veſpertinarum, & miſſarum, poſt Hymnos, capitula de Pſalmis dicantur, & plebs collecta oratione ad veſperam ab Epiſcopo cum benedictione dimittatur*, Concil. Agath. Can. 21.

(*y*) *Hic ordo pſallendi*, is not *qui Pſalmi*, but *quot*; requires not the ſame, but ſo many Pſalms to be uſed, *Syn. Turon.* 2. *can.* 19. *in Crab.* 14. *in Caranza*. A Council in the ſame Country with the former, *an.* 570.

for

lorum, Martyrum; Ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς ευχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ παρακλήσεσι προσδέξηται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν, *deinde pro defunctis*, &c. p. 241.

Ἔπειτα λέγομεν τὴν εὐχήν, Lord's Prayer which he expounds, 242, 243. *Expleta oratione dicit ἀμήν.*

Sacerdos poſtea dicit, Ἅγια ἁγίοις· *vos reſpondetis*, εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, *deinde audiſtis pſallentem, ac ad communionem adhortantem*, γνώσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος· *Accedens ad communionem, oſtendit quomodo*, &c. κύπελλον, καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων ἀμήν.

Poſtremo exaltata oratione εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ, *qui te tantis myſteriis divinum reddidit.*

ple Bleſſed; and the Elements being diſtributed, all be concluded with Thankſgiving: The ſame order of Prayer is obſerved, tho' the ſame Prayers be no more uſed, than the ſame Pſalms or Leſſons always, or the ſame Sermon more than once. And the ſame is to be underſtood of the 27. *Can. Con. Epam. an.* 517. *in Bl.*

But, if I minded not the diſcovery of the truth, more than upholding of my opinion, or diſproving of yours; I would grant, that by *Ordo* is underſtood a Liturgy with preſcribed Prayers; and it would be a great diſadvantage to your cauſe, to grant it; for here's a plain ſignification, they had no ſuch Liturgy before, and the Original hereof from Six Biſhops, in one Province of *France*, where Fifteen or Seventeen, and this not till the latter end of the Fifth Age, when all σφόδρα κακῶς.

And this is all, which I can find alledged in behalf of theſe Liturgies for Five hundred Years after Chriſt, that is conſiderable, unleſs the Hymns *Benedicite* and *Te Deum* may be counted worthy of conſideration: And ſo perhaps they may be accounted, if not otherwiſe, yet in reſpect of the Perſons, that ſo make uſe of them.

But

Cyril Catech. Myſtag. 5. p. 259. *Vidiſtis Diaconum* νίπτεσθαι τὸ ὑδωρ καὶ τοῖς κυκλῶσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῆ θεῖᾳ περιφυτίσεως.

Εἶτα βοᾷ Diaconus, ἀλλήλους ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα.

Poſtea clamat Sacerdos, ἄνω τὰς καρδίας, p. 240.

Vos deinde reſpondetis, ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

Dicit deinde Sacerdos, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

Vos dicitis, ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Κατὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν ὄρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, θρόνων, ἔτι χερουβικοτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον δυνάμεις καλυπτόντων, λέγοντας τὸ τῆ Δαβὶδ μεγαλωσθῆναι τὸν κύριον σὺν ἡμῖν. μνημονεύομεν καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἁγίων, quæ in Spiritu Sancto canebat Eſaias, circumſtantia Thronum Dei——atque dicentia, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth——ſic per ejuſmodi Hymnos nos ipſos ſanctificantes, Deum benigniſſimum oramus, Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

for the Prayers, if according to the order ſpecified, *Con. Laodic. Can.* 18. firſt Prayers were made for the Catechumens, then for the Penitents, after that for the Faithful. And, if in that office peculiar to the Faithful, the Prayers be ordered, as *Auguſtin* thought the Apoſtles method was, *Epiſt.* 59. ſo as firſt Prayer be made for all ſorts; then the (z) Elements be Conſecrated; after that the Peo-

(z) *Deinde, poſtquam conſectum eſt illud Spirituale Sacrificium, & ille cultus incruentus ſuper ipſa propitiationis hoſtia,* Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν ἀδενείαις, ὑπὲρ τῆς καταπονουμένων, καὶ ἀπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων. Then follows what *Rivet* ſays, is interpolated, Δεόμεθα σοῦ πάντες ἡμεῖς καὶ ταυτὴν προσφέρομεν σοὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, *primum Patriarcharum, Prophetarum, Apoſto-*

ple

But the inference is not good, from Forms of Hymns to Forms of Prayer; much leſs from arbitrary Forms of Hymns, to preſcribed Forms of Prayer, or Liturgies. Hymns are more elaborate, require more Art and Ornament than Prayers: and therefore, thoſe who are not for ſet Forms of Prayer, if they admit Hymns of humane and ordinary compoſition, ſee reaſon to have them in Forms, and not without premeditation. And their Oppoſites will not deny them here more needful.

Nor will the Inference hold, from preſcribed Hymns to preſcribed Liturgies, from a ſmall part (for which there is a different reaſon) to the whole. *Ex. Gr.* If *Nicephorus* his report were true, *lib.* 14. *cap.* 46. that *Theodoſius* Junior, with his Siſter *Pulcheria*, injoyned the Τρισάγιον (a Hymn of ſix or eight Words) to be ſung throughout the World (which yet he makes queſtionable, by adding ſuch a Legend of its miraculous original) could it be inferr'd from thence, that they injoyned the whole World the ſame Liturgy? Beſides, Hymns there were preſcribed and ſo uſed (*viz.* the Pſalms of *David*, and others of Divine Inſpiration) in the Apoſtles times, when all our Liturgiſts in a manner, acknowledge there were no preſcribed Liturgies.

As for thoſe two Hymns alledged, there is no evidence, that they were impoſed, or ſo much as uſed, in any time, which will ſerve to prove the Antiquity of thoſe Liturgies, which is pretended, or any which is for their reputation. That which begins with *Te Deum*, is found by the great (a) *Uſher*,

(a) *Epiſt. ante diatribam de Symbolo*, p. 2.

in some Antient Manuscripts ascribed to *Nicetius* (who, if it be he of *Triers*, lived till after *an.* 565.) He concurs herein with *Menardus*, that it is not mentioned in any Author antienter than the Rules which *Benet* writ for the Monks of his Order, which was about the middle of the Sixth Age, as may be collected from *Baronius*; and those Rules had their first publick approbation, *an.* 595. How long after this, that Hymn came to be used in the Church, and when it was thought fit to be imposed, is not worth the inquiring.

The other, called the Song of the Three Children, I have no where discovered, before the Fourth Council of *Toledo*. It is mentioned, *Can.* 13. as used before, but then first imposed, *an.* 633. Such like Hymns were so far from being generally prescribed in the former Ages, that the use of them is forbidden in Publick, by Synods, both in the Greek and Latin Church. *Conc. Laod. Can. ult.* Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανονίστους βιβλίους· ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης: that private (or uncanonical) Psalms ought not to be used in the Church, neither Books that are not Canonical, but only the Canonical (Books) of the Old and New Testament. Where ἰδιωτικοὺς seems by the clause following, to be opposed to κανονικοὺς, as writings ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως are, by the Apostle, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20, 21. opposed to those of Divine Inspiration. So that the Fathers of *Laodicea*, as they prohibit any Books but those that were Canonical; so do they forbid any Psalms or Hymns, save such as were of Divine Inspiration, to be used in the Churches; and the Canons of this Synod were received by the Church, amongst her

her univerſal Rules. Add hereto, *Conc. Boncar.* 1. *an.* 565. *can.* 30. *Extra Pſalmos veteris Teſtamenti nihil poetice compoſitum in Eccleſia pſallatur*, Beſides the Pſalms of the Old Teſtament, let nothing Poetically compos'd be ſung in the Church.

Thus I have given an account of the Teſtimonies produced for the Antiquity of the Liturgies in queſtion, and of all that I have met with, after indeavours to meet with all, having waved none, wherein there might be conceived to be any ſtrength, or wherein I could perceive any ſhew of it. What opinion others may have hereof, I will not conjecture: For my own part, after a careful obſervance of whatever might ſeem to have any force or evidence, for that purpoſe; I may profeſs, that (as this was it, which Firſt ſwayed my Judgment to that part of the queſtion, wherein it now reſts; ſo ſtill) I am very well ſatisfied, even by theſe Teſtimonies, (*b*) that there was no ſuch thing, as that for which they are alledged. To me there needs no more Arguments, nor (if I much miſtake not) will more be very needful to any other, whoſe minds are not prepoſſeſſed with ſomething too hard for their reaſon. For if there had been ſuch Liturgies uſed conſtantly in all Churches through the World, for Five hundred or Six hundred Years next after Chriſt, it is not imaginable, but there would have been ſuch remarkable traces,

(*b*) Οὐ τὰ πεπλάσματα ὅπως πέφυκε σκοπεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην παντὶ δῆνει κυρῶσαι πεφαυρεῖται, ὃ βέλτιστα τέτο κ᾽ ὕπεσθαι, κἀιτοι τῆς πεπλασμάτων πολλάκις ἀπηχθεσμένων, *Iſidor.* l. 5. Ep. 501.

yea ſuch clear evidence in ſome, yea in many of the Antients (eſpecially the Writers being ſo numerous, their Writings left us ſo full and Voluminous, and the occaſions of mentioning them ſo very frequent) that there might have been had as full and clear proof thereof, and with as much eaſe, as of any one thing, whoſe antiquity hath been queſtioned. Now, when many have curiouſly ſearched antiquity for this, and being prickt on by oppoſition, have purſued the ſearch with great induſtry, under a quick ſenſe too how much they are concerned herein, and being withal, Perſons of as great ability for the diſcovery, as any we can expect will attempt it, divers of them ſeeming as well acquainted with what is obvious in antiquity (which is all that is needful in this caſe) as with their own Lodgings, and ſome of them no ſtrangers to her in her Retirements and leſs traced Receſſes; after they have, (as they tell us, and we might have believed it, if they had not ſaid ſo) made the faireſt proof thereof they can, yet produce nothing, which any that are impartial can account, or which I am apt to think they themſelves can believe to be ſufficient proof, (if their belief were beholding to nothing but their reaſon:) May it not be hence reaſonably concluded, that what, in theſe circumſtances, is not now diſcovered, was not then extant? Such Liturgies uſed every where, for ſo many Hundred years, are a matter of that nature, which would have been obvious at a ſuperficial view, and of eaſie proof to ſuch as have no intimate acquaintance with antiquity. If then, we can have no intelligence thereof from thoſe who may think themſelves wronged, if they be not counted her Secretaries; if no diſcovery there-

of

of be made by that diligence which has ranſacked all the corners, penetrated the inwards, and dived to the bottom of antiquity for it: What ground is there to expect any diſcovery thereof hereafter? What reaſon is there left us to believe any other, but that ſuch ſearch hath been for a thing that was not, and that the ſuppoſed Liturgies of thoſe Ages had no being, but in the imagination of later times?

And now, I may from the premiſes conclude, That for Five hundred Years after Chriſt (if not more) the ordinary way of worſhipping God in publick Aſſemblies, was not by preſcribed Liturgies.

Inſtead of a more particular diſcovery of their introduction, this may ſuffice, and is enough for my purpoſe, that they were not the common uſage, while the ſtate of the Church was any thing tolerable, nor till it was ſunk deep into degeneracy, and was much worſe than when *Chryſoſtom* complained, Σφόδρα κακῶς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διάκειται, *Hom.* 29. *in Act.* p. 776, 777. The Church is in an exceeding bad poſture; and compares it to one laid out for dead, Ὥσπερ σῶμα νεκρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρῶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐρριμμένον ἅπαν, &c. *in* 2 *Cor. Hom.* 7. p. 692. And again to a Houſe quite burnt down, having taken Fire at the Pillars, which ſhould have ſupported it, in *Epheſ. Hom.* 10. p. 816. where he ſays, it was many a day ſince the Church through the World was overturned, and laid flat on the Ground, all being equally involved in evil, but thoſe that were its Rulers more guilty than others; Πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἐξ ὧν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ ἐκκλησία κατέσκαπται

κατίσχυσαν καὶ εἰς ἔσχατον κεῖται, πάντων ὀξίσας τῷ κακῷ πλεονεκτήμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφ' ἧς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπευθύνοις, p. 817. And elsewhere represents it to us, by a Woman (*c*) robbed of her Jewels and Treasure, having nothing left, but σκιαὶ καὶ κενώματα, some poor empty significations of what precious things once she had, in 1 *Cor. Hom.* 36. p. 487, 488. In which he is followed by (*d*) *Isidore* of *Peleusium*, lib. 3. Epist. 408. *Zenoni*.

Particularly the degeneracy of the Church was lamentable, as on many other accounts, so (to wave those that are less pertinent to the business in hand) in respect of Worship, and the Persons who ordered and administred it.

(*c*) Ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν γυναικὶ τῆς παλαίας εὐπαιδείας ἐκπεσούσῃ, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα καλεχούσῃ πολλαχοῦ μόνον τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐπρεπείας ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς μὲν σκιὰς ἔτι χρυσίων ὑπεδεικνυμένῃ καὶ τὰ κιβώτια, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀπεμαξαμένῃ, τοιαύτῃ προσοίκειαν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν, *Chrys. in* 1 *Cor. Hom.* λς'. p. 487. And this, as *Isidore* adds, Παρὰ τὴν ἔτι δεύτερα τὰ προσήμαλα μεταχειριζομένων κακίαν, &c. *l.* 5. *Ep.* 21. Τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ παντοδαπῆ ἡμαρτῆσθαι τοῖς τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐγκεχειρισμένοις.

(*d*) Ὅτι μὲν ἀχμαζούσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ μήπω νενοσηκυίας, τὰ θεῖα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐχόρευε χαρίσματα, τὰ ἀγία πνεύματος δωμαγωγήματος, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ἕκαστον κινοῦντος, καὶ ὕμνον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιοῦντος, πᾶσι δῆλον ἐστίν· ὅτι δὲ νοσησάσης καὶ ῥαπισάσης, ἀπέπτη πάντα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀπεπήδησεν, ἃ τὰ χαρίσματα μόνον (ἃ γὰρ ἴδιον ὅτου δεινὸν εἰ τοῦτο μόνον ἔχει) ἀλλὰ καὶ βίος καὶ ἀρετή, &c. Isid. *l.* 3. *Ep.* 408. vid. *lib.* 2. *Ep.* 5.

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The Worſhip of God was Firſt fearfully corrupted; the native plainneſs and ſimplicity of it (τὸ ἁπλαστον καὶ ἀπεπίεσμενον ἦθος) moſt amiable to God, and all that are like him ἀποδεκτον θεῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ὁικειωμένοις, *Orig.* (*e*) *contr. Celſ.* l. 8. p. 418. was vitiated and defaced with the Paint and Patches of bold and wanton Fancies.

The Law of God, the only Rule and Standard of Divine Worſhip, was overlooked in the regulating of it; and that offered to God at a venture, whether it pleaſed him or no, which was pleaſing to Men; without conſulting his word, by which alone is known, what is (*f*) acceptable to him.

There were more compliances with the Heathens, than with the Scripture; and ſo the Church too far from being, as, *Origen* ſays, what God, in ſending Chriſt and the Goſpel, deſigned them to be, ἐκκλησίας ἀντιπολιτευομένας ἐκκλησίαις δεισιδαιμόνων, Congregations oppoſite to the Aſſemblies of the ſuperſtitious, *Contr. Celſ.* l. 3. p. 123.

The Chriſtian Worſhip was made more Ceremonious than that of the Jews, and clogged *oneribus ſervilibus*, with more badges of Thraldom;

(*e*) Οὐδεὶς γὰρ βλέπων τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλῳ τρόπῳ σέβει τὸ θεῖον ἢ τὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, &c. Origen: contr. Celſ. *l.* 7. *p.* 367.

(*f*) Τῷ γὰρ τιμωμένῳ πᾶν ἡδύ ἐστι, ἂν θέλῃ, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, *Chryſoſt. in Matth. Hom.* . . . p. 323.

whereby the ſtate of Chriſtians was rendred far more intolerable, than theirs under the Law: Their impoſitions being from the Pleaſure of God, but theſe from the Will of preſumptuous Men, inthralling that Religion, which God in mercy would have had free. As (*g*) *Auguſtin*, complaining thereof, expreſſeth it; For one Inſtitution of God's, there were Ten of Man's, and their preſumptuous Devices more rigorouſly preſſed, than the Divine preſcripts: So that, if the whole had been denominated, from what was predominant therein, it was in danger to loſe the name of Divine Worſhip.

Nay, ſome of the moſt horrid (*h*) abuſes were invading it; Invocation of Saints, Adoring of

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(*g*) *Sed hoc nimis dolco, quia multa quæ in divinis libris ſalubérrima præſcripta ſunt, minus curamur; & tam multis præſumptionibus ſic plena ſunt omnia, ut gravius corripiatur, qui per octavas ſuas terram nudo pede tetigerit, quam qui mentem vinolentia ſepelierit—— quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri poſſit, quo modo contra fidem ſint, ipſam tamen religionem quam pauciſſimis & manifeſtiſſimis celebrationum ſacramentis*, MISERICORDIA DEI LIBERAM ESSE VOLUIT, SERVILIBUS ONERIBUS *premunt, ut tolerabilior ſit conditio Judæorum, qui etiamſi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen ſarcinis, non humanis præſumptionibus ſubjiciuntur*, Auguſt. Epiſt. 119. *Januario*, c. 19.

(*h*) *Vid.* Theodoret. de curand. Græc. affect. *l.* 9.
Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κυρίᾳ ὑπνοῦσαι—— ἐν ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ τῷ Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι, Theodor. Lect. Collect. l. 2. p. 189. Πρῶτον ἐπινόησι τὸν ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ τῷ Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι, Cedren. Comp. Hiſtor. p. 299. *Nolite conſectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipſa vera religione ſuperſtitioſi ſunt—— novi multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores*, Auguſtin *l.* 1. de moribus Eccleſ. Cathol. *cap.* 34.

Pictures,

Pictures, and giving Divine Honours to the Creatures. After ſuch company, thoſe Forms found entertainment. So was the Worſhip of God adulterated, and the corruptions ſtill increaſing and growing worſe, before theſe became the high way of Worſhipping. And by it, the reſt became general and incurable errors and abuſes, before but private and voluntary; being hereby Authorized and Inforced.

This was, after all the great Lights of the Church were extinct. Such Liturgies were not ἦν πατέρων τὸ κειμήλιον, but νεώτερον ἐφεύρημα, as *Baſil* in another caſe, *de jejun. Hom.* 1. a later invention; after thoſe, whom we honour under the notion of Fathers, were dead and gone, ὀλίγοι ἦ οἱ παλεῖοιν ὅσιοι (*Clem. Alex. ſtrom.* 1.) Their Succeſſors (who may glory therein) were nothing like them, but too commonly under the Character of *Boniface*, *Lignei Sacerdotes*; (*i*) and tho' ſo much of another temper than thoſe that went before them, yet ſerved the better for this turn, being imperious, or ſlothful, or inſufficient.

(*i*) *Multa denique de cultu divino uſurpata ſunt, quæ honoribus deferuntur humanis: ſive humilitate nimia, ſive adulatione peſtifera: ita tamen, ut quibus ea deferuntur, homines haberentur qui dicuntur colendi & venerandi: ſi autem iis multum additur, & adorandi*, Id. de civit. Dei. *l.* 10. *cap.* 4.

Iſidore aſcribes the lamentable condition of the Church to the degeneracy of Paſtors, Τότε μὲν οἱ φιλάρετοι εἰς τιμὴ ἱεροσύνην προήγοντο, νυνὶ ἦ οἱ φιλάργυροι. τότε ἦ οἱ φεύγοντες τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τὸ μέγεθ& τῆς ἀρχῆς, νυνὶ ἦ οἱ ὀρεγόμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τὸ μέγεθ& τῆς τρυφῆς. τότε οἱ ἀκλήμοσυνὴν ἐκτῶ ἐναξιωμένοις νυνὶ ἦ οἱ πλεονέξια ἐκτῶ χρήματι ζημιοῦσι. τότε

Prelacy

οἱ περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες τὸ θεῖον διαγνῶναι, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ μηδὲ ἔννοιαν τότε ἔχοντες. οὗτοι οἱ τύπτεσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ τύπτειν ἕτοιμοι *Isid.* lib. 5. ep. 21. *Id.* l. 3. ep. 223.

Horrid corruption of the Clergy, *lib.* 5. *ep.* 131.

Ἡ χειροτονία ὅτε εἰς ἐξουσίαν φέρει, ὅτε εἰς ὕβριν ἐπαίρει, ὅτε δωροδοκίαν παρέχει, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς δουλεύειν ἠξίωσε, *Chrys. Hom.* 37. *Tom.* 6. p. 442.

Ἡ χρεῖττον πάσης ἐλπίδος τε καὶ εὐχῆς σῶσαι θαυμάτων ἐπανόρθωσις ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γενομένη, κινδυνεύει ἀμαυρῶσαι ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς παρ' αὐτῶν πιπτόντων ἀνυπερβλήτε κακίας, *Isid.* l. 5. ep. 272.

Adding, Ὧν μὴ ὁ τρόπος τὸν βαθμὸν, ὁ βαθμὸς δὲ τὸν τρόπον πτεύεται, ἔξαπολὺ τῆς τάξεως ἐναλλαττομένης— either so indulgent ὡς ἂν μηδὲ ἀνακόπτοιτο κακία, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκοιτο, ἢ τῇ τροχιᾷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ ἑαυτῶν συγκαλύπτοντες.

Μηδὲ περιίδωμεν, μηδὲ τῆς τῶν περιπόντων καὶ τυφλουμένων νοσεμένης, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρετῆς μόνης γινώσκωμεθα, *Orat.* 28.

Prelacy was declining into tyranny long before; and Bishops in many places, grew insolent and intolerable, forgetting that they were ordained ὁ πρίμυης ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων ὀφείλειν ψυχαῖς, not to exercise dominion over the Flock, but to take charge of Souls. The stirrings of this domineering humour were complained of in part of the Fourth, and beginning of the Fifth Ages; and shooting up daily and speedily, we may guess to what height it might come by an Hundred years growth. *Nazianzen* complains in his time of Prelates, who, when they had overrun all things else with violence, in fine tyrannized over piety it self, οἱ ὅταν πάντα διέλθωσι βιαζόμενοι, τελευταῖον τυραννῶσι καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, and wishes, that there were no Prelacy in the Church, not only under the

Naz. Orat. 1. p. 3.

Orat. 21. *in Laud. Athanas.*

the notion of local preheminence, πρεσβεία καὶ τόπε πρεσβίμησις, but of tyrannical prerogative, τυραννικὴ πρεσβομία. *Orat.* 28.

Their tyranny was one thing, if *Eraſmus* miſtake not, which drave *Jerome* out of the World into a Cell. To be ſure *Chryſoſtom*, ſo rigorouſly perſecuted for endeavouring to reform the then prevailing corruptions, profeſſed that he feared none ſo much as Biſhops, ἐδένα γὰ λοιπὸν δέδοικα ὡς ἐπισκόπες, *Epiſt.* 13. p. 95. And *Arcadius* puts one of them in mind, *viz. Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, that the audaciouſneſs and tyranny of the Biſhops before him had ruined the Nation, and diſperſed the people through the World, ὃ λέληθας πάνλως ὅτι ἧς πεὶν ἀρχιερέων παντολμία καὶ τυραννὶς τὸ ἔθνος ὅλεσε καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τλὴ οἰκεμένην διέπειρεν, *in Georg. Alexand. vit. Chryſoſt.* c. 39. p. 212. vid. *Ep.* 2. p. 64.

So in *Iſidore Peluſiota* (*k*) Epiſcopacy, as divers exerciſed it, is τυραννικὴ ἀνλονομία, a tyrannical licentiouſneſs, becauſe they turned it into domination, or rather to ſpeak freely, into tyranny; ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἀρχὴν, μᾶλλον γὲ, εἰ χρὴ μετὰ παῤῥησίας εἰπεῖν, εἰς τυραννίδα αὐτὸ μεθεῤῥύθμισάν τινες, *Epiſt. (ad Theodoſ.)* 125. *lib.* 2.

(*k*) After inſtances of great degeneracy, he adds, Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν, μεταπεπλωκέναι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ ἱεροσυνῆς εἰς τυραννίδα· ἀπὸ ταπεινοφροσυνῆς εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν· ἀπὸ νηφαλίας εἰς τρυφήν· ἀπὸ οἰκονομίας εἰς δεσπότειαν· ὃ γὲ ὡς οἰκονόμος ἀξιῶσι διοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δεσπόται σφίσιν ἐζεῖναι, *Iſid.* l. 5. ep. 21.

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He ſays he accuſes not all, there were ſome χρὴ ἀποστολικοῦ χαρακτῆρος, but very few, (*ep.* 89.) and thoſe guilty, becauſe ſuch was the multitude of the ἀκολάστων, that they were afraid, and durſt not ſpeak againſt them.

Tho' things ſeemed deſperate, yet there might be ſome hopes of better, if the ὑφηγήσαι, the Chief in the Church παυσάμενοι τῆς τυραννίδος, πάλιν ἀκριβῆ κανόνων ὑπόδειξιν ποιήσεται, *l.* 5. *ep.* 126. Biſhops tyranny hindered Reformation, which was otherwiſe feſible, tho' to ſome it ſeemed impoſſible.

Thoſe who obſerved the Apoſtles rule were ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ, *l.* 5. *ep.* 89.

Δεικνὺς τὸ μέσον τῆς ἀρχαίας λειτουργίας καὶ τῆς νυνὶ τυραννίδος, *l.* 3. *ep.* 223. vid. Having ſhewed in many particulars ὅτι εἰς τυραννίδα τὸ τῆς πράξεως μεγαλοφρονεῖν ἀξίωμα, *ibid.*

Some except againſt *Socrates*, as a Novatian. But who can except againſt *Iſidore*, who repreſents it worſe, and complains of it as general, *ſupra*, *lib.* 5. *ep.* 21. and *l.* 3. *ep.* 223. Tho' they affected the grandeur of Princes, yet were upbraided by their Piety, *l.* 5. *ep.* 89. *ep.* 286. τίνες ἢ ἆρ' νυνὶ πεφωτισμένοι, καὶ τὴν πολυθρύλητον φιλοσοφίαν εἰς τυραννικὴν αὐτονομίαν μετέβαλον· ἐκ ὑπὸ θυμὸν ἀρχὴν ἐμπεπτωκέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορικὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκληρῶσθαι νομίσαντες, *l.* 5. *c.* 2. *ep.* 234. *l.* 4. *ep.* 229. *p.* 255.

The chiefeſt of them made bold to leap over the juſt bounds of their Place and Office, περὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνης ὁρὰ δυναστείαν, to ſecular domination, as *Socrates* tells us, *Hiſt.* lib. 7. c. 7. & c. 11. And as there is his Teſtimony for thoſe of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, ſo have we the Fear of the Fathers at *Epheſus* for others, ἵνα μὴ ἐν ἱερωσύνης προφάσει, ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύσῃ, leſt under the pretence of a ſacred Function, the pride (haughtineſs) of ſecular power ſhould creep in, *Can. in Cod.* 178. Alſo the obſervation of the Council of *Chalcedon*,

ὃν ἔθετο

ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς πνὲς ἔξω τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς διαμὲς προσῳδομένες δυναστείαις, *Can.* 12. that ſome, againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Rules, did affect domination.

(*l*) The Biſhops of *Rome* affected it with a witneſs, aſſerting and contending for a Supremacy over all other Churches; and were ſo impotently zealous for it, as they attempted to get it acknowledged by a groſs forgery uſed by *Zoſimus*, *Boniface* and *Celeſtine*, to a Council in *Africa*; by *Leo* alſo in his Letters to *Theodoſius* the Emperour; and by his Legate to the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Act.* 16. *Tom.* 2. *Conc.* *Tom.* 2. *Conc.*

Nor did the Biſhops of *Rome* domineer alone in the *Weſt*; other Prelates acted, in lower ca-

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(*l*) *Ad Spiritualem (monarchiam) cœptum eſt aſpirari palam & apertè, à nonullis Paparum, circa* an. 400. Calaub. exercit. 16. num. 209. p. 541. *vid.* exerc. 15. p. 302.

Circa An. Dom. 420. *primo* Zoſimus, *deinde* Bonifacius, *duo* Præcoces Hildebranduli, *Reges agere incipiunt, &* κατακυριεύειν τῆς κλήρων *dominium exercere adverſus electos in ſpiritualibus, &c.* id. ibid.

Vid. *Hom.* 2. *in Tit.* 1. 5. *p.* 386.

Ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ πράγματα προῆλθε, κ) τότων ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι—— ἡμεῖς ἢ βελόμεθα πολλῆς ἀπολαῦσαι τρυφῆς κ) ἀναπαύσεως κ) ἀδείας—— τρυφὴν ζητοῦμεν κ) οἰκίας λαμπρὰς κ) πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἀφθονίαν, Chryſ. *in* 1 *Cor. Hom.* 6. *p.* 277, 278. & *in Eph. Hom.* 6. *p.* 792. That of *Chryſoſtom* was forgot, ὃ γὰ ἀρχόντων τύφω ἔξω τὰ εἶναι δα, ὅδε ἄρχομένων δουλοπρέπεια· ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴ πνδμαλικὴ, τότω μάλιστα πλεονεκτῆσα, πᾶ τὸ πλέον ἢ πόνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀναδέχεσθαι φροντίδος, ὃ τῶ ἡμᾶς πλείες ὠφελῆσαι, *Hom.* 18. *p.* 647. *in* 2 *Cor.*

pacities,

pacities, anſwerably, as appears by *Proſper*, complaining of the Biſhops in his time, as if they made account, that for this alone they had their power, that they might exerciſe a tyrannical dominion over thoſe who were under them, *Ad hoc potentes tantùm facti, ut nobis in ſubjectos tyrannicam dominationem vendicemus.* Such and worſe was the tyranny and imperiouſneſs of Biſhops, before they conſpired to take order, that none ſhould uſe a word in publick Prayers, at the moſt ſolemn adminiſtrations, but what, and as they thruſt it into their Mouths.

De vit. contempl. l. 1. c. 21.

Nor was this, before thoſe who ordered and adminiſtred the publick Worſhip, were grown negligent, and ſlothful, eaſing themſelves of the chief duties of Paſtors, *viz.* Thoſe which were laborious and required any intenſe exerciſe of their faculties. Particularly, it was, after diligent and frequent peaching (which was the happineſs, even of the Fourth, and part of the Fifth Age, and their ſecurity too, (ſome ſtop being hereby put to that degeneracy into which all was ſliding down) and the excellency alſo of thoſe Biſhops, who were the lights and ornaments of thoſe times,) was growing out of faſhion. When that of *Maximus* was too true, *Qui reipſa doceant aut doceantur admodum pauci.* When thoſe, who had the charge of Souls, declined the work, but were eager after the power, profits and dignity of the place; and ſo retaining the name of Paſtors, were really no ſuch thing: Which *Proſper* thus bewails, 'But we (moſtly including himſelf, that they who were guilty might take leſs exception) delighted with things preſent, while we hunt after the advantages and honours

'honours of this life, make all haſt to be Prelates, 'not (*m*) that we may be Better, but Richer; nor 'that we may be more Holy, but more Honoured. 'Neither do we regard the Lord's Flock, which is 'committed to us, to be fed and preſerved; but 'we carnally (mind) our pleaſures, domination, 'riches, and other allurements. We will be called 'Paſtors, but we ſtrive not to be ſuch. We de-'cline the labour of our office, affecting (only) 'the profit and dignity, *&c.* This way of Worſhip was well ſuited to the humours of ſuch Paſtors; and they were more thoroughly and generally of this temper, in *Proſper*'s time, before it could have free entertainment.

The lamentable inſufficiency of thoſe, who took up this Miniſtration, we may judge of, by the

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(*m*) *Sed nos præſentibus delectati, dum in hac vita commoda noſtra & honores inquirimus, non ut meliores, ſed ut ditiores; non ut ſanctiores, ſed ut honoratiores ſimus, præſſe feſtinamus. Nec gregem Domini, qui nobis paſcendus tuenduſque commiſſus eſt; ſed noſtras voluptates, dominationem, divitias, & cætera blandimenta carnaliter cogitamus. Paſtores dici volumus, nec tamen eſſe contendimus.* Officii noſtri vitamus laborem; *appetimus utilitatem & dignitatem.* And after, *Greges Domini paſcendos, Paſtores facti, ſuſcipimus: & noſmet ipſos paſcimus, quando non Gregum utilitati proſpicimus, ſed quod foveat & augeat noſtras voluntates attendimus. Lac & lanas ovium Chriſti, oblationibus quotidianis, aut decimis fidelium gaudentes, accipimus: & curam paſcendorum gregum ac reficiendorum à quibus perverſo ordine volumus paſci, deponimus,* de vit. contempl. *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

noted

noted (*n*) defectiveneſs of thoſe times, part whereof were in this reſpect, incomparably better. The unworthineſs of thoſe who were preferred, is noted by *Ambroſe*, *Nazianzen*, (*o*) and almoſt every one, who was not obnoxious. Not only the Pride, but the Ignorance of the Weſtern Biſhops, and ſome of the chief of them, is cenſured by *Baſil*, (*p*) Ποίαν βούθειαν ἀπὸ τῆς δυσκωφίας ὀφρύος; οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς, ὅτε ἴσασιν, ὅτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; What belief can be expected from the ſuperciliouſneſs of the Weſt, where they neither know the truth, nor will learn?

Epiſt. p. 285.

(*n*) Ambroſ. de Sacerd. dignit. cap. 5. *Qui mentis torpore hebetati* Sacerdotalem *diffamant dignitatem.*

(*o*) *Nazianz. Orat. Funeb. Athanaſ.* Οὐ μηδὲν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ προσνέμοντες μηδὲ τὸ καλὸν προτάλαντωρήσαντες, ὁμοῦ τε μαθηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς ἐυσεβείας ἀναδείκνυσθαι, &c. vid. & *Orat. in laud. Baſilii*, where he ſays the holy Order was in danger to be rendred moſt ridiculous —— and the Biſhops Chair, not for the moſt Worthy, but moſt Potent.

(*p*) *Damaſus* is included in that cenſure of *Baſil. Siricius* paſſes for a dull and ſluggiſh Perſon; a Simpleton in *Jerome*, *ſimplicitati illuderet Epiſcopi*, Epiſt. 16. and ſluggiſh even in *Baronius*, *cauſam fidei ſegnius tractans*, in Spond. ad an. 397. n. 6. And *Innocentius*, if we may believe *Eraſmus* (paſſing that judgment on him for a piece, wherein he might be preſumed to have ſhewn his beſt) had nothing in him worthy of his place. Yet we can ſcarce find two of the Biſhops of *Rome* in Three hundred years, better accompliſhed than theſe. What were the leſſer Lights commonly, when the greater were ſo dim?

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The condition of the Eaſt was not much better, for a little after we hear from *Sozomen* and others, that *Aſia* and the parts about it were ſick of their unworthy Biſhops, νενοσηκότων, and languiſhed under the want of ſuch as were really Paſtors.

In the Dioceſs of the Orient, *Chryſoſtom* (*q*) complains that the unworthy were preferred, and thoſe fitly qualified caſt out; ὃ γὰρ τὰς ἀναξίους ἐγκείνεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὀφειλούσας ἐκβάλλεται, a double miſery equally grievous; καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσης δύμαι δεινὸν εἶναι, *de Sacerdot. Orat.* 3. p. 24, 25. *Tom.* 6. vid. *Iſidor.* l. 5. p. 276. λόγῳ πίνυν πεφοβῆσθαι χρὴ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὅτι ἀδεὶς σφὶ ἐυδοκίμων λοιπὸν εἰς ἱερωσύνην προχειρίζηται; not becauſe there are none ſuch, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισῶνται καὶ ἀποκλείονται, καὶ ὑποσκελίζονται, ὡς σφὶ πολλῶν ἐλέγχοντες τὸν βίον, *Iſid.* lib. 5. ep. 276. l. 3. ep. 245. If they endeavour to reduce but a mean perſon, they are hiſſed at, as thoſe who are guilty of greater evils themſelves. Διόπερ πρώην μὲν ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ φοβερὸς, νῦν δ' ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ, *ibid. ep.* 27. *&c.* Ancient Diſcipline neglected, the Vertuous oppreſſed, the Wicked in-

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(*q*) What better could be expected, when the Dignity was put to ſale, and he carried it too commonly, not who had the richeſt Soul, but fulleſt Purſe? So in the Weſt. *Ambroſe* complains in the Eaſt, ὦνηται αἱ ἀρχαὶ, *Chryſoſt. in Epheſ.* Hom. 6. p. 793. 9. vid. *Iſid.* l. 5. ep. 276. 470.

Ut vides in Eccleſia peſſimos, quos non merita, ſed pecuniæ ad epiſcopatus ordinem pervexerunt. Ambr. de dign. Sac. *cap.* 5.

dulged, *ep.* 426. *l.* 31 *ep.* 259. φοβερὸν ἐστι, καὶ λίαν φοβερὸν τὸ εἰς ἱερωσύνην νυνὶ τελέσαι, becauſe he muſt either be evil, or hated and indangered if good, by thoſe who obſerved pernicious cuſtom as a Divine Law, and expelled thoſe that lived well, *ep.* 481. *l.* 5. How Epiſcopacy degenerately abuſed, *l.* 2. *ep.* 50. Thoſe Rulers generally worſt, *ep.* 71.

In *Egypt*, (r) it was the cuſtom of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* (without whom no Biſhop was to be ordained in thoſe parts) to conſecrate not knowing Men, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἂν ἀστοχήσοι, unleſs he miſs'd of his aim; chooſing rather to have the ordering of them, as of Fools, than to be liable to the control of any that were prudent: A thing which would ſcarce have paſt as credible upon the word of *George* of *Alexandria*, had not *Palladius* ſaid as much before him.

(r) Ὑπὸ ἀναξίων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ θέλξ ἐκκλησίας ὁπτεσπούδασε, *Soz. lib.* 8. *c.* 7. *p.* 452. νενοσηκότων περιεμάτων ὅλης τῆς ἀσπανῆς διοικήσεως διὰ ἀπειρίαν ἢ ἐρημίαν ποιμένων, *Georg. Alex. vit. Chryſoſt.* cap. . . . p. 202. 632.

Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μὲν κατέδυ, ἢ δὲ συλεύεται, ἑτέρα χαλέπεις περιαυλεῖται κύμασιν, ἄλλη τὰ ἀνήκεστα πέπονθεν, ἢ μὲν λύκον ἀντὶ ποιμένος, ἢ δὲ πειρατὴν ἀντὶ κυβερνήτου, ἢ δὲ δήμιον ἀντὶ ἱερέως, *Chryſ.* Epiſt. 2.

Ἐδόκουν οὖν δεῖν μὴ χειροτονεῖν τὰς ἐπάρχους εἰ μὴ τὸ ἂν ἀστοχήσωσι βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄρχειν ὡς ἀνοήτων, ἄμεινον ἡγούμενοι αὐτῶν κρατεῖν ἢ φρενίμων ἀκούειν, *id. ibid. cap.* 20. *p.* 185. Georg. Alex.

And

And, as he in *Egypt* would have none, ſo they in *Africa* could ſcarce get any that were fit to be Paſtors: For ſo *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, in a Council there Aſſembled, *An.* 401. complains, That ſo great was their want of Miniſters, as many Churches were found to have not ſo much as one (*ſ*) illiterate Deacon; and leaves them to conſider, at what a loſs they muſt needs be, for perſons qualified to be ſuperiour Officers, when they could not find ſuch as were fit to be (*t*) Deacons.

And *Auguſtin* tells us, there were many good Paſtors, who could not diſcern, *per ignorantiæ ſim-*

(*ſ*) *Euſebius* of *Peleuſium* did as bad or worſe, ordaining not only ἀπαιδευσίας ῥήματα, *ep.* 81. *lib.* 3. himſelf being ἀλογίας ῥῆμα, *epiſt.* 3. but ἀτελίκλα ἤθεια καὶ δάιμονας ἀλάστορας, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐχθρὰς, *l.* 5. *ep.* 52, 53, 54. λύκοις διὰ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς, κυσὶ ἢ διὰ τὰς λαυθείας, ἀλώπεξι ἢ διὰ τὴν κακοηθίαν, ᾧθεν ἢ τὰς ὠὰ ἀποδαίνας ἰζοσεφιζει, τὰς ἢ φαύλας συλεγλεῖ, *ep.* 140. δῶκε τὸ πόιμνιον, *ep.* 147.

(*t*) *Communi periculo providendum, maxime, quia tanta indigentia Clericorum eſt, multæque Eccleſiæ ita deſertæ ſunt, ut ne unum quidem Diaconum, vel inliteratum (Græc. ἀγεγραμμένον) habere reperiantur. Nam de cæteris ſuperioribus gradibus tacendum arbitror, quia, ut dixi, ſi miniſterium Diaconi facile non invenitur, multo magis ſuperiorum honorum inveniri non poſſe, certiſſimum eſt, & quotidie nos planctus diverſarum pene emortuarum plebium jam non ſuſtinemus: quibus niſi fuerit aliquando ſubventum, gravis nobis, & inexcuſabilis innumerabilium animarum pereuntium cauſa apud Deum manſura eſt*, in Cod. Afr. *can.* 56. in Juſtell. *p.* 164. in Crab. Concil. *tom.* 1. *p.* 502, 503.

plicitatem, through their ignorance and ſimpleneſs, when there was Hereſie in a Prayer; but made uſe of ſuch as were Heretical, accounting them to be good, *de Bapt. contr. Donat.* l. 6. c. 25.

Yea many Biſhops there were, (and many more conſequently of lower rank,) who knew (*u*) no Letters, and could not ſo much as write their own Names, but were glad to get others to ſubſcribe for them, even in Councils, where, we may think, ſuch inſufficiency would have been aſhamed to ſhew it ſelf, if it had not been too common.

(*u*) *Helius Epiſcopus Hadrianopolitanus definiens ſubſcripſi per Romanum Epiſcopum Myronum, eo quod neſciam literas. Caiumus Epiſcopus Phœnicenſis definiens ſubſcripſi per Coepiſcopum meum Dionyſium, propterea quod literas ignorem*, Concil. Epheſ. 2. in Act. 1. Chalced. Conc. in Crab. Tom. 1. p. 830. So amongſt others, Conc. Epheſ. 1. *Patricius Presbyter de vico Paradioxilo, manu utens Maximi compresbyteri, ob hoc, quod literas ignorarem. Zeno Chorepiſcopus —— manum accommodavi pro eo ego Flavius Palladius, ob hoc quod præſens dixerit literas ſe ignorare*, in Act. 1. Con. Chalced. in Crab. p. 816. Theodorus Gadorenſis *per alterius manum, i. e.* Ætherii *Diaconi*, in Gr. can. Æstherius the Deacon ſubſcribed, ὑπογραπεὶς παρ' αὐτῦ ἀδυνάτυ ὄντ@ ἢ μὴ γεάφειν@, which is likely the cauſe, tho' not expreſt, why thoſe that were preſent, ſubſcribed by others; of which ſee inſtances, *Con. Eph.* 2. *in* Cr. *p.* 831. *Con. Conſtantinop. ſub Flaviano, contra Eutych. in* Cr. *p.* 781. *& Conc. Eph.* 1. *in Conc. Chalc. Act.* 1. Crab. *p.* 819, 820.

Pantinus Zenenſis literas neſcit, collect. Carth. d. 1. n. 133.

Not

Not to be tedious, *Leo* the Emperour, about *An.* 460. is commended, as having well provided, that the Church ſhould have able Biſhops, becauſe he would have none Ordained, but thoſe who had learnt their Pſalter; ἵνα ἐχωσιν τὸ ψαλτήριον μὴ γινώσκοντα. Such was the ſtate of the Church, as to the ſufficiency of her prime Guides before the Sixth Age, and much worſe afterwards, when they ſteered this courſe in their Worſhip; all ſorts of Learning, together with Holineſs, declining apace. And Barbariſm, Ignorance and Vitiouſneſs more and more prevailing. Under ſuch Planets were thoſe Liturgies born, and by their influence nouriſhed.

Theodor. lect. collect. lib. 1.

To conclude, They were not entertained, till nothing was admitted into the Church, *de novo*, but Corruptions, or the iſſues thereof; no change made in the Antient Uſages, but for the worſe; no motions from its Primitive Poſture, but downwards into degeneracy! Till ſuch orders took place, as reſpected not what was moſt agreeable to the rule and primitive Practice, or what was beſt to uphold the life and power of Religion in its ſolemn exerciſes, or what might ſecure it from that dead heartleſs formality, into which Chriſtianity was ſinking, and which is at this day the ſediment of Popery: But what might ſhew the Power, and continue occaſion for exerciſe of Authority to the imperious and tyrannical; or what might comport with the eaſe of the lazy and ſlothful; or what might favour the weakneſs and

and inſufficiency, and not detect the lameneſs and nakedneſs of thoſe, who had the Place (*w*) and Name, but not the real accompliſhments of Paſtors and Teachers. In a word, not till the ſtate of the Church was rather to be pitied than imitated; and what was diſcernable therein, different from preceding times, were Wrecks and Ruines, rather than Patterns.

(*w*) *Sentio, negligente me, creſcit ſentina vitiorum, & tempeſtate fortiter obviante, jam jamque putridæ naufragium tabulæ ſonant.* Gregor. 1.

Ἀγει δ ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καταλαβὼν καὶ ζοφώδης, καὶ νύκτα ἀστέλλων πάντα εἰργάσατο, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην κορυφοῦται τὴν ἡμέραν, πικρά τινα ὠδίνων ναυάγια, καὶ αὔξεται ἡ πανωλεθρία τῆς οἰκουμένης, *Chryſ.* ep. 1. p. 51.

Τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν παρακαλῶμεν δῦναι λύσιν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ναυαγίῳ, *epiſt.* xθ. p. 115.

Θρηνῶμεν τὸν κοινὸν πᾶσι ἐκκλησιῶν χειμῶνα, καὶ τὸ τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλαβὸν ναυάγιον, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶμεν εὐχαῖς βοηθεῖν, ὥστε τὴν πανωλεθρίαν ταύτην διαφυγεῖν πόλεμον, *Epiſt.* ρον'. p. 186.

FINIS.

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